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EDITORIAL

THE SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COMING OF THE RUSSIAN MENNONITES TO North America (1873-1875) has been the occasion for numerous jubilee programs and historical publications, and justly so, for this migration was one of the major events of modern Mennonite history. In size the movement exceeded the total of all previous Mennonite migrations to America and was the forerunner of the later still larger movement of 1922-25 when 20,000 came, so that today the Mennonite population of North America is almost double what it would have been otherwise. Furthermore the Russian immigrants represent a somewhat different type, the Dutch-North German type, which is racially and culturally, also ecclesiastically, somewhat different from the Swiss-South German type represented by the older settlers of Pennsylvania and the North Central states, both Mennonite and Amish. The settlement area was also different, primarily the prairie states and provinces. Thus the pattern of Mennonitism in the United States and Canada is far more varied, and, it might be said, richer, because of what happened in 1873-75.

The REVIEW is happy to present its own contribution to the anniversary in the form of a series of articles in the July and October issues of this year. The current issue is devoted to three of the outstanding personalities associated with the reception of the immigrants in America and the extensive assistance given to the movement by the American Menonites, both financially and in counsel and guidance. The three are: John F. Funk, leading minister and publisher of the (Old) Mennonites of Elkhart, Indiana; Jacob Y. Shantz, prominent layman of the same group of Kitchener (then Berlin), Ontario; and Bernhard Warkentin, a young Mennonite layman from the Molotschna colony in the Ukraine, who though arriving only a few months before the migration began, rendered good service as business agent for the American Mennonite aid committee, i.e., the Mennonite Board of Guardians. Funk and Shantz, with Christian Krehbiel, minister of the General Conference Church at Summerfield, Illinois, later Halstead, Kansas, were the chief actors in this truly great work of assistance. David Goerz, a young Russian Mennonite, friend of Warkentin, who came over early in 1873 was, like Warkentin, an active and valuable helper, and with Warkentin served on the Board of Guardians along with the older American leaders.

The articles on Funk and Shantz are exhaustive scholarly articles designed to give the most complete possible account and evaluation of the contribution of these two men to the great Russian Mennonite migration and settlement enterprise of 1873-75 and following years. As treasurer and executive officer of the Board of Guardians, Funk occupied a pre-eminent place in the work, though primarily in the United States, while Shantz's contribution was solely in relation to the settlement in Manitoba. The prodigious and successful labors of these two men, whose connection with the Russian group was solely that of a fellowship in faith without any previous relationship or even acquaintance, and who worked for years without any remuneration for their time, are an impressive testimony to the power of Christian love as well as the depth of the convictions of the men themselves and of the groups whose brotherly aid was channeled through them.

By friendly agreement with the publishers of the anniversary volume *From the Steppes to the Prairies* (1949), the article on Funk by Kempes Schnell appeared some months previously in that volume, though with some revisions of the author's original text. Likewise Melvin Gingerich's article on Jacob Y. Shantz was preceded by a similar though much briefer article in *From the Steppes to the Prairies.*

In addition to the biographical articles, the REVIEW is publishing an extensive series of documents relating to the 1873-75 migration. The first section of these is a representative collection of letters written by Bernhard Warkentin chiefly in 1873, edited by Cornelius Krahn, which reflect in a most interesting way some of the preparatory phases of thinking and planning for the coming movement. The October issue will contain two other documentary sections, one being copious extracts from John F. Funk's diaries, and the other a further instalment of the series of public and private documents related to the migration edited by Ernst Correll. A final article by Professor E. K. Francis of Notre Dame University, "Tradition and Progress Among the Mennonites in Manitoba," will complete the anniversary contributions.

SILAS HERTZLER'S ANNUAL STATISTICAL REPORT OF "ATTENDANCE IN MENNONITE Secondary Schools and Colleges" appears, somewhat late, in this issue. It displays again, even more impressively than before, the substantial growth in the educational work and service of Mennonite churches of North America.

THE SECTION, "BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND RESEARCH NOTES," IS DEVOTED THIS TIME PRIMARILY to an exhaustive report on the Mennonite Yearbook and Almanacs for the decade 1940-1950. The publications of the Echo-Verlag, which are devoted solely to the history of the Mennonites in Russia, are also briefly summarized.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

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JOHN F. FUNK, 1835-1930, AND THE MENNONITE MIGRATION OF 1873-1875

KEMPES SCHNELL

Among the American Mennonites who participated in the work of settling 18,000 European Mennonites in the prairie states and the provinces between 1873 and 1885, no one played a more important role than John F. Funk.[1] Born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, in 1835, he settled in Chicago as a young man. Here he engaged in business activities, but as he became increasingly interested in the Mennonite Church, he changed his work to that of printing and established a printing plant in Chicago. There he published the first issue of the *Herald of Truth* and the German edition, *Herold der Wahrheit,* which appeared under the date of January, 1864. In the following year he was ordained to the ministry and in 1866 he moved his printing plant to Elkhart, Indiana, where through the firm of John F. Funk and Brother and later through the Mennonite Publishing Company, he wielded a far-reaching influence in shaping the future of the Mennonite Church.

When one considers Funk's broad interests, it is not surprising to learn that he early manifested a sympathetic interest in the plight of the Mennonites in Russia who during the early eighteen seventies were facing the possible loss of their religious liberties. As editor of a Mennonite paper, he was in an especially favorable position

[1] Aaron C. Kolb, "John Fretz Funk, 1835-1930; An Appreciation," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (July 1932), VI:144.

to aid the Russian brethren by acquainting them with American conditions and by informing the American brethren of the plight of their European brethren. He was also in an especially favorable position to aid the emigrants by providing through his paper an avenue through which the dissemination of news of the emigration was possible. Besides informing the American Mennonites of the necessary action, the German edition of this publication, *Der Herold der Wahrheit,* was read regularly by a number of German and Russian Mennonite subscribers and thus served to transmit the desired information of emigration proceedings to the entire Mennonite world. Through his publication activity Funk kept in touch with the European publications of the Mennonites.

He learned of the dissatisfaction of the Prussian Mennonites over Bismarck's newly instituted military laws through an article in the *Mennonitische Blaetter* of February, 1870. His interest was aroused by a statement that some of these people would prefer emigration to acceptance of these laws. Funk appeared to favor such a proceeding and in an editorial in the *Herald of Truth* suggested that a deputation from these brethren might come to the United States that summer to investigate settlement possibilities and urged an interest on the part of the American Mennonites.[2] In the autumn of the same year a new call for help was noticed by Funk in an article in the *Gemeindeblatt* which mentioned the suffering of the Alsatian Mennonites caused by the ravages of the Franco-Prussian War of that same year.[3] As a result of that article over $500 was raised and sent to the war sufferers in Alsace.[4]

During these same years Funk was corresponding with members of the group of dissatisfied Mennonites in Russia. These people were also concerned because of their government's attempt to nationalize and militarize the people within its borders. While the Russian Mennonite leaders were attempting to secure exemption from the universal military service which faced their young men in 1871 by petitioning their government, Cornelius Jansen, grain merchant and earlier Prussian Consul at Berdiansk, in South Russia, became convinced that his people's only way out to preserve their conscience was to migrate to America. Accordingly he carried on a correspondence with American brethren among whom was Funk,

[2] "From Germany," *Herald of Truth* (March 1870), VII:56.

[3] Christian Schultz, reprint of an article from the Gemeindeblatt, *Herald of Truth* (December 1870), VII:193.

[4] Editorial, *Herald of Truth* (August 1872), IX:120. Includes an itemized account of the money sent to each destination.

with whom he had become acquainted through reading the *Herold der Wahrheit*.[5] In this correspondence, which continued through 1872, Funk presented Jansen with the desired information concerning the resources and industries of the different sections of the United States, the customs of the people, and the laws governing military service.[6] This correspondence was later mentioned by Jansen's son Peter as "the first step taken toward the Mennonite immigrations to the United States" from Russia.[7]

When agencies of the American governments and railroads heard of the possibility of the emigration of these thrifty and industrious people, they all manifested an interest, and by 1872 much activity was concentrated on the furtherance of this movement. Although many of the Russian brethren still hoped that they could persuade the Russian government to exempt them from the obnoxious laws, others were investigating emigration possibilities. In January, 1872, Leonhard Sudermann of Berdiansk presented a petition to the British Consul which emphasized their needs for settlement.[8] Similar petitions followed from other colonies. In this same summer a Canadian government land agent, William Hespeler, arrived in Russia and traveled throughout the Mennonite communities distributing information which advertised his country as the land for settlement. The United States expressed her interest by distributing information concerning her policy on military laws and on the price of frontier land through her ambassador, E. Schuyler.[9]

Funk exhibited his usual practical caution, and withheld this story from the *Herald of Truth* until June, 1872, when he reprinted an article from one of the Chicago dailies which accurately portrayed the situation and concluded with a favorable comment con-

[5] C. Henry Smith, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites* (Berne, Indiana, 1927), 49.

[6] *Ibid,* 49.

[7] Peter Jansen to John F. Funk, June 11, 1895, Funk Papers, Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen, Indiana. A copy of the letter will appear in the Oct., 1950. REVIEW. Jansen also early corresponded with other American Mennonite leaders. A letter from Jansen to the American brethren was dated as early as February 15, 1870. It is evidently this letter that Christian Krehbiel, Summerfield, Illinois, answered on December 24, 1870. In his *Sammlung von Notizen ueber Amerika* (Danzig, 1872), Jansen includes also a letter from John H. Oberholzer, Milford Square, Pa., of September 8, 1871, one from Gerhard Wiebe, Newburgh, Ohio, September 22, 1872, and two from John F. Funk, Elkhart, Indiana, dated April 8, 1872, and May 5, 1872. The exact date of Jansen's first letter to Funk remains uncertain.

[8] Georg Leibbrandt, "The Emigration of the German Mennonites from Russia to the United States and Canada in 1873-1880," *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* I (October 1932), VI:210, 211.

[9] *Ibid;* Installment II, January 1933, VII:224.

cerning the possible movement.[10] His first public mention of his correspondence with Jansen was printed in the July issue of the same year. In an editorial he stated that the matter of an emigration had been considered in Russia and that, "it is possible that some of the people may migrate before a great while," but that any immigration to this country in a body is doubtful. He concluded, however, by pleading for a maintenance of an active interest on the part of his readers for their "brethren on the other side of the great water."[11]

After this he attempted to keep the facts of the Russian situation before his readers. In each succeeding issue of the *Herald of Truth,* there appeared a discussion designed to stimulate the growth of a knowledge and of an appreciation of the plight of the Russian Mennonites and to instill a desire to aid this movement, if it should materialize. The first tangible connection which served to supplement the previous communication by mail between these Mennonite groups was reported in the *Herald of Truth* of August, 1872. Here, after a graphic description of the manner in which the Russian leaders had been seeking information of this land through the study of letters, books, papers, and maps, Funk described the arrival at his home of four young men from Europe who were seeking firsthand information about America. This group, which had arrived in Elkhart earlier in the summer, consisted of four youths, including Bernhard Warkentin, who later became one of the main factors in aiding the emigration. These men remained in the Funk home for a week end before continuing on their unofficial exploration of the Western United States and Canada.

During this trip they traveled through Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Minnesota, and the territory of Dakota.[12] In September the youths returned to Elkhart where they enjoyed the hospitality of the Funk home for several days[13] before three of them continued east and sailed from New York on the third of October.[14]

This manifestation of interest and determination by the Russian youth to escape the military laws of their homeland crystallized and intensified Funk's fascination for the immigration project. When he and Bernhard Warkentin, who had remained in the United

[10] "The Mennonites in Russia," *Herald of Truth* (June 1872), IX:88.

[11] "The Mennonites in Russia," *Herald of Truth* (July 1872), IX:104.

[12] "The Mennonites in Russia, A Visit from There," *Herald of Truth* (August 1872), IX:121.

[13] "The Russian Brethren," *Herald of Truth* (October 1872), IX:152.

[14] "The Russian Brethren," *Herald of Truth* (November 1872), IX:168.

States, received an invitation from M. C. Hazard, agent of the land department of the Northern Pacific Railroad, to inspect the land along the Northern Pacific in Minnesota and Dakota, he accepted.[15] In September Funk began the first of a series of journeys which he made to aid the emigrants. Accompanied by Hazard, the party arrived at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on the evening of September 18, 1872. The next day they crossed the Mississippi River and reached Minneapolis, Minnesota. In this city, they conferred with several officials and visited the Minnesota State Fair where produce from the Northern Pacific Railroad area was on exhibition. Here, as on the entire trip, Funk's interest was focused on securing information that would be of value to his Russian brethren. His diary of these days is filled with the description of the varieties and sizes of the various fruits, grapes, vegetables, grain, and livestock on exhibit. After leaving the fair, the party examined the industrial and commercial establishments of the area, where they noted any information concerning prices, wages, or the availability of supplies which might be valuable to a new settlement.

From Minneapolis the party journeyed to Duluth, Minnesota, which was then only three years old. Continuing west they arrived at Brainerd, Minnesota, on September 23, at Glyndon on September 25, and at Fargo, Dakota, on the twenty-sixth. Leaving Fargo, they rode via a freight train over the comparatively level prairie of the Red River Valley where Funk noted that there was sufficient water of good quality everywhere and a rich fertile soil at most places. On the evening of September 28, they arrived at a small settlement named Jamestown where they slept in bunks in a hotel which consisted of a large circular-shaped tent provided with a "wash stool, a barrel of water, two wash dishes, a looking glass, two towels, a table and the usual other paraphernalia of a frontier boarding house." During the next day they traversed the James Valley, where they traveled over the prairie in an army wagon pulled by four mules. The Red River territory pleased Funk especially well because it was less dry than the prairie and contained an abundance of timber. This was the last area which they surveyed on this trip. On October 1, Funk left Warkentin and Hazard at St. Paul and continued home alone.[16]

The enthusiasm with which Funk viewed this area as a possible home for the Russian Mennonites was expressed in the November,

[15] "Our Trip to the West," *Herald of Truth* (November1872), IX:170.

[16] John F. Funk, *Diary*, September 1872, Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen, Indiana.

1872, issue of the *Herald of Truth.* In this article one can feel the disappointment he entertained because the United States had permitted Canada to offer the more inviting terms to the prospective settlers, thus possibly presenting a more inviting picture to them. His keen interest in the welfare of his Russian brethren, as well as his sincere desire to increase the fellowship and acquaintance between American and Russian Mennonites seemed to be mixed with a patriotic fervor when he wrote that although the United States climate is most advantageous for settlement in Western America, the failure of a special inducement by the government might turn all the emigrants to Canada. Surely, he continued, an accession to a state of thirty or forty thousand industrious farmers, herdsmen, and mechanics should be inviting. Never, however, did he permit his desire for the accomplishment of the proposed project to dull his realization of the responsibilities which would face the American Mennonites in the event of an actual immigration movement. In this same article he continued with the plea that, "our church . . . ought to think seriously over this matter, the new relations into which it will bring us; the new duties and responsibilities it will cast upon us; the liberality and generosity it will require of us—a helping hand, information and a kind of fraternal feeling towards them; our sympathies and our prayers. Let the church not be behind in good works and good words and a friendly welcome, with willing hearts to help if need be."[17]

Early in 1873, Funk received a letter from the Russian Mennonite leaders which stated that the Russian government had finally issued the decree that six out of every one thousand men must be drafted for military duty without exception and that this was forcing the necessity of actual emigration on the brethren.[18] Until this time Funk did not seem to desire any hasty action, but with this information his hesitation completely disappeared. In the next issue of the *Herald of Truth,* he began a concerted effort to reach his readers in both the United States and Russia to explain to them the full implications of the situation and to exhort them to provide whatever help or co-operation possible. The February issue, of which 20,000 extra copies of the German issue were sent to Russia,[19] was dedicated to the Mennonites of that country and their needs. Practically every page of this issue was concerned with matter relating to either the

[17] "The Russian Brethren," *Herald of Truth* (November 1872), IX:168.

[18] John F. Funk, *Autobiography,* Russian Immigration, 4, Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen, Indiana.

[19] "The Present Number," *Herald of Truth* (February 1873), X:40.

history of the Russian Mennonites, their present plight, explanations of possible locations for them in America, or an estimate of the action necessary to accomplish their emigration. Funk put so much material into this section that it was necessary to publish a February supplement to carry the regular articles and news which were awaiting publication. He apparently felt some criticism for this extra stress on this subject because in this supplement he printed an editorial in which he apologetically stated his reasons for spending so much space on it. He wrote that he was merely doing for the Russian Mennonites what he would wish them to do for him if the situation were reversed. He continued his statement by writing that in his opinion the peace doctrines of Jesus Christ have already only a very few witnesses. If in helping to bring these people to America, he is able to prevent the loss of their peace witness, he will feel that a very worth-while and influential task has been accomplished for Christ.[20] This statement is an apt summary of the spirit of selflessness and devotion which pervaded his personality and attitude during his activity in promoting the emigration.

The year 1873 was spent largely in preparation. Letters were exchanged which explained and evaluated the necessary activity of both the Russian and the American Mennonites; transportation companies were approached to secure reduced fare for the transporting of so large a group;[21] methods of collecting finances from the American brethren and of distributing them to the needy were considered; and committees were chosen to supervise the settlement. By the end of the year full machinery was in preparation. In February of the year, however, Funk and a small group of interested friends, including Amos Herr of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, David Goerz, Russian schoolteacher in the parochial school in Summerfield, Illinois, Christian Krehbiel, elder of the Mennonite church at Summerfield, and Bernhard Warkentin, were a unit in their desire to help these people and it was largely due to their tireless efforts that the church responded to the call. During the year, the *Herald of Truth* was occupied with material on the Russian emigration. At the same time Funk was attempting to arouse interest by sending personal letters to his many church acquaintances. Since they were without a church organization within which to work, these men acted without conference sanction until a church committee was appointed. During

[20] "Reduction of Fares," *Herald of Truth* (February 1872), X:24.

[21] Although the Northern Pacific Railroad finally received little of the immigrant trade they were the first company to offer a reduction for this purpose. The fare they proposed would have amounted to $50.00 per adult passenger from Europe to the West. "Reduction of Fare for the Russians," *Herald of Truth* (March 1875), X:56.

this time, however, they advocated the creation of a committee by the various conferences, since they preferred to have the work organized by an official church body.

Convinced now that no exemption from military service would be granted them, the Russian brethren were also active. First, they arranged to send a deputation to America to spy out the land. Second, since many of their number were poor and others would lose much of their wealth in the unfavorable conditions under which they were forced to sell their property if they wished to emigrate, they petitioned various sources for financial aid. They first petitioned the United States and Canadian governments to aid them in financing their long voyage. Next, anticipating a possible refusal of this requested aid, several groups also petitioned their American brethren for aid.[22] These petitions were sent with their representatives in the 1873 deputation.

The deputation consisted of twelve leaders of the Russian Mennonites who came to America in the summer of 1873 at the invitation and expense of the Canadian government to investigate the opportunities for settlement in a climate of toleration and freedom. The cost of the deputation was six hundred and seventy dollars,[23] but it resulted in the final decision of some eighteen thousand people to settle in the regions of Manitoba and the Western United States. The twelve men who represented different Russian communities, traveled together for a large part of their journey in America but they did not start out in one group. Each group, however, stopped at Elkhart during their stay in the country. The first three men to arrive were Henry Wiebe and Jacob Peters of the Bergthal community and Cornelius Buhr, an independent large farmer traveling on his own. They came to Elkhart on the twenty-third day of April, 1873.[24] After remaining for two days at the Funk home, they continued on to Chicago where they were met by Warkentin, who, with Christian Krehbiel, escorted them on their trip over the states west of the Mississippi River.[25] Late in May two other groups of the deputation arrived in the States. One of these consisted of five men, Jacob Buller and Leonhard Sudermann from the Molotschna Colony, Tobias Unruh from Karolswalde, in Poland, Andrew Schrag from the Swiss group in Volhynia, and William Ewert from Obernessau in Prussia. These men had apparently been in close touch

[22] Funk, *Autobiography*, Russian Immigration, 1.
[23] Leibbrandt, Part II (January 1933), VII:9.
[24] "The Russian Deputation," *Herald of Truth* (May 1873), X:89; Smith, 51.
[25] Christian Krehbiel to Funk, May 12, 1873, Funk Papers.

with the Mennonites in both Ontario and Pennsylvania, and before going to Elkhart, Buller, Sudermann, and Unruh went to Ontario and Schrag and Ewert to Pennsylvania. This delayed their arrival in Elkhart until June 6.[26] In the meantime the third group, consisting of Cornelius Toews and David Klaassen of the Kleine Gemeinde and the two Hutterian representatives, Paul and Lorenz Tschetter, arrived at Funk's home on May 24.[27]

At the time of their arrival, Funk was in Illinois at a church conference. When he returned home at ten o'clock P.M. Monday, May 26, he found the four men waiting for him. While waiting for Sudermann's group to arrive, Funk, who had been invited to accompany the deputation as an interpreter and counsel, visited several churches in Illinois, returning home on June 2. Sudermann and company were still absent on June 3; so these five who had promised to meet Wiebe, Peters, and Buhr in St. Paul on June 5, left Elkhart without them. In Chicago they waited for twenty-four hours before continuing to St. Paul, where the two parties met on June 6. Here they received a dispatch which stated that the new party was coming. After leaving word for them to follow, the group of eight left on June 7 for Dakota, accompanied by C. B. Powers, a representative of the Northern Pacific Railway.[28] After they arrived in Fargo, they toured the country along the James, Red, and Cheyenne rivers while they waited for the other group to join them.

This party had arrived in Chicago on June 7 and, accompanied by William Hespeler, representing the Canadian government, M. C. Hiller of the Northern Pacific, and Jacob Y. Shantz, an Ontario Mennonite, hastened on to join the main group.[29] This union was accomplished in Fargo on the ninth and the journey up the Red River to Winnipeg in Manitoba began on the thirteenth. To reach their destination, which was only two hundred and forty land miles distant, they were forced to travel over six hundred and fifty miles of twisting, turning river.[30] They arrived on June 17 after nearly five days of travel. This was followed by a discouraging trip through the region south of Winnipeg during which they worked their way over marshland and through an almost completely uninhabited region where the few crops which were growing appeared to be matur-

[26] Leonhard Sudermann, *A Deputation Journey from Russia to America,* translation into English by Elmer Swartzentruber, Wellman, Iowa, 1948, 5.

[27] J. F. Funk, "Notes by the Way," *Herald of Truth* (August 1873), X:137.

[28] *Ibid.,* 138.

[29] Sudermann, 7.

[30] John F. Funk, "Notes by the Way," *Herald of Truth* (August 1873), X:139.

ing far too late for the best harvest. Dissatisfied, they cut their journey short and returned to Winnipeg on June 21.[31]

By this time five of the brethren, Ewert, the two brothers Tschetter, Unruh, and Schrag, decided against Manitoba as a place for settlement, and agreed to conclude their explorations in Canada and to return to the States to further explore the land in Dakota. The remaining brethren were persuaded by the Canadian representative's pleas to consider the land west of Winnipeg and agreed to explore that area.[32] Funk readily consented to accompany the group going south and the five of them left Winnipeg by boat on the twenty-first of June.[33] These five reached Pembina, near the International Boundary, on June 23 and used the ensuing two days to explore the Pembina Valley. This they accomplished with the aid of an army conveyance which was furnished them by a Colonel Wheaten, United States Army. An incident occurred during these two days near a small town named Wall Halla which greatly impressed the Russian brethren. In this village they visited at the house of a German, named George Emmerling. After leaving Emmerling's residence, they traveled a half day before Ewert noticed that he had left his blanket behind. While they conjectured as to a possible method of retrieving this blanket, they were surprised to see Emmerling drive up in his buggy. He immediately inquired whether any of the party had missed anything. Only the blanket had been missed, but upon Emmerling's earnest solicitation to know if nothing else had been missed, a more careful examination revealed that Ewert had also forgotten his "pocketbook" which had a considerable sum of money in it. Emmerling thereupon presented the two articles with an admonition to be more careful hereafter. Ewert was quite amazed at this unexpected kindness and could only say, "So this is a specimen of American dishonesty of which we have heard so much.[34] During the next week they inspected railway land in the vicinity of Moorehead, traveling in open wagons and sleeping in tents.

On the next Sunday, July 6, Sudermann, Buller, and Shantz met them in Fargo. After they had inspected the prairies near Fargo for a few days, the whole party rode the stage along the Red River into Minnesota to Fort Abercrombie. From here they journeyed on to

[31] Sudermann, 12.

[32] J. M. Hofer, "The Diary of Paul Tschetter," 1873, I *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (April 1931), V:204.

[33] Funk, "Notes by the Way," *Herald of Truth* (September 1873), 155.

[34] Funk, "Notes by the Way, *Herald of Truth* (October 1873), 169.

Breckinridge in Dakota where they boarded the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad for the trip toward St. Paul. After making numerous stops to inspect the country they reached Minneapolis on July 12. They remained here over the week end and then journeyed on to the vicinity of Mountain Lake where they stayed for two days. From here they traveled directly to Sioux City, Iowa, where they were met by M. Hansen of the Union Pacific Railroad, who served as their host during their visit to the country between Sioux City and Omaha, Nebraska, at which junction G. O. Manchester of the Burlington and Missouri Railroad greeted them.[35] The journey through the Burlington country was made in wagons and tents. In this area they crossed the Platte, Little Blue, and Republican rivers to arrive at Lincoln, Nebraska. From thence the party crossed the Missouri River by rail and arrived at Pacific Junction where the Tschetters and Unruh left the party and started for Chicago. Those remaining went on the Omaha and St. Joseph Railroad toward St. Louis. Somewhere along this route Funk stopped off to visit his brother who resided at Chillicothe, Missouri. The Russians went on to Summerfield, Illinois. Funk arrived home on July 26, accompanied by Sudermann, Schrag, and Shantz whom he had rejoined in Chicago. The journey had lasted about two months. During this time Funk had served as interpreter, had maintained a complete record of his activities and of the country which he had visited, and had accepted every opportunity to preach and to witness for his beliefs. After he arrived home he published a complete record of the two months' activities in the *Herald of Truth*.[36] In this manner he increased the knowledge of his readers concerning the deputation activities and enhanced their interest in the project.

His acquaintance with the Russian delegation enabled Funk to present their needs to his readers with a greater clarity and force. This he began immediately. His first appeal for financial aid was printed in the July, 1873, *Herald of Truth,* in the form of a petition which had been sent with Andreas Schrag, the representative of the Swiss Mennonites of Volhynia, which requested a loan to help finance their emigration. He prefaced this reprint with a personal appeal which suggested that the need might amount to about six or eight thousand dollars for this one colony, a figure which was destined to grow into a total of much greater size.[37]

[35] Funk, "Notes by the Way," *Herald of Truth* (November 1873), 186.
[36] Funk, "Notes by the Way," *Herald of Truth* (December 1873), X:202.
[37] "Russian Deputations," *Herald of Truth* (July 1873), X:120.

The readers expressed an immediate interest by submitting letters which suggested plans to be used in the collection of money. In one of these letters a Jacob Leisy of Summerfield, Illinois, presented the first public expression of a desire for a central committee which could co-ordinate the efforts of the individuals and groups who were now anxious to help their brethren. He also exhibited the spirit with which the American Mennonites were grasping the opportunity to help their fellow churchmen by suggesting that any loan should be given without interest.[38] In the September issue, Funk informed his readers that a second specific call for aid had been received from the churches in the Ontonowka, Canton Ostrog, community. This petition was signed by Tobias Unruh. These pleas were followed by the suggestion that each church should immediately appoint a solicitor to supervise the local collection of money, that the conference should consider the whole problem and appoint a central committee to co-ordinate the work, and that the whole church should plan to loan or contribute the money needed by the destitute Russians for their emigration passage.[39] Funk continued to receive letters suggesting methods by which the finances for this undertaking might be most efficiently completed.[40] By October he had received the wishes of the people sufficiently to present a composite plan of procedure in the *Herald of Truth.* This plan, which was the one followed during the decade of immigration, consisted of ten items which in essence follow:

1. Let the minister or deacons bring the subject before the people at once.
2. Let each person decide whether to give or to loan his money.
3. If the money is to be given as a gift, give it to the deacon to pay out as needed.
4. If it is a loan, make a subscription list and be ready to pay as needed.
5. The various conferences should appoint a committee as soon as possible to receive the contributions and to put them in a good bank where they can be withdrawn at any time.
6. Upon the receipt of notice from the proper authorities in Europe, the committee will pay the passage in New York City upon the arrival of the immigrant.

[38] Reprint of a letter, Jacob Leisy to John Funk, *Herald of Truth* (October 1873), X:166.

[39] John F. Funk, "Emigration of the Russian Mennonites," *Herald of Truth* (September 1873), X:153.

[40] See the *Herald of Truth* for September and October, 1873, X:150-167.

7. The churches presenting the loans should be given notes of seven years' duration.
8. Notes should be given in the name of the church paying, the church then being responsible to the member.
9. The committee should keep a correct account of receipts and expenditures and should publish a monthly statement in the church papers.
10. The committee should have the right to use the money as needed.[41]

The first aid committee in the United States was appointed by the Indiana-Michigan Conference District at the annual conference meeting held at the Yellow Creek Church on October 9, 1873. The members of this committee were John F. Funk, Isaac Kilmer, and Bernhard Warkentin.[42] This authorization of the Conference provided Funk with an extra encouragement in the *Herald of Truth* of November, 1873. In the same issue an editorial appeared which pleaded for immediate action on the part of all ministers and deacons of all the Mennonite congregations ". . . whether old or new Mennonites, Reformed Mennonites, Evangelical Mennonites, Swiss Mennonites, Amish Mennonites or by whatsoever other peculiar name they may be known."[43]

The ensuing autumn of 1873 was a busy one for John Funk, who now had the extra work of organizing the Russian immigration added to his already full program. Already in the midsummer of 1873 the first group of refugees, which was composed of the more wealthy families coming from the Crimea, had arrived in Elkhart and had presented Funk with the responsibility of lodging them. On August 20, a second party of nineteen families, about ninety souls, arrived. On August 25, a third party of seven families, including Jacob and Peter Funk and Cornelius Jansen and his son Peter, arrived. Some of these later went to Summerfield to stay while the men went west to search for a suitable location for permanent settlement.[44] The rest remained at Elkhart. One group went to Mountain Lake, Minnesota. Others of them finally settled near Yankton, Dakota, or in Marion and McPherson counties, Kansas.[45] The last group left Elkhart on January 5, 1874.[46]

[41] Funk, "Aid for the Russian Brethren," *Herald of Truth* (October 1873), X:167.
[42] *Minutes of the Indiana-Michigan Conference 1864-1928.* (In Goshen College Library.)
[43] "Aid for the Russians," *Herald of Truth* (November 1873), X:183.
[44] "The Russian Emigration," *Herald of Truth* (September 1873), X:152.
[45] Funk, *Autobiography,* Russian Immigration, 4.
[46] Funk, *Diary,* January 5, 1874. On October 3 Funk accompanied Peters, Goerz, and

On December 2, 1873, the committee which had been chosen by the Indiana-Michigan Conference met with a committee of three, Christian Krehbiel, Daniel Baer, and Bernhard Warkentin, which had been appointed by the Western District Conference at Summerfield, Illinois, on November 17, 1873. This meeting was also held at Summerfield, and was called to co-ordinate the efforts of the two groups and to plan for the actual immigration proceedings. The two groups decided to elect a temporary board of directors and to merge under the name "Board of Guardians." In the new organization, Christian Krehbiel was chosen president; David Goerz, secretary; John Funk, treasurer, and Bernhard Warkentin, agent, with Kilmer and Baer as members of the committee. Once organized the committee decided to: negotiate with the railroads to obtain the most favorable terms, speed up the collection of gifts and loans from all traditional peace churches, invite the co-operation of all the conferences, being willing to change the present board of directors to facilitate this co-operation, maintain records of the amounts of money loaned and provide notes for the creditors, and outline a circular to inform the immigrants of what they are expected to do to co-operate with the Board.[47]

An earlier general circular had been sent to Russia jointly by the committees in December, 1873. This circular assured the Russian brethren of aid in the form of gifts and loans and informed them of the procedure through which the migration must go in securing aid. It also assured the emigrants that German-speaking agents would be appointed to contact the steamship and railroad companies, care for their needs in the European ports, receive them when they arrived in America, and give them such counsel as they may need. All emigrants were urged to co-operate by having all the needed certificates ready before leaving Europe. The Board of Guardians presented these blanks to the pastor of each congregation, who in turn distributed them to needy members of their community. To be valid they had to be certified with the church seal and signed by the minister and elder of the home congregation and the bearer. All able emigrants were expected to help the needy among them to the fullest possible extent before anyone in any particular group should be permitted American aid.[48]

Schroeder to Chicago where they went to contract for lands with the Chicago and Western Railroad Company. On the thirteenth he accompanied a party of 77 to Chicago on their start West. During this time Warkentin was traveling throughout the West attempting to find land suitable for settlement for this group.

[47] Funk, "The Mennonite Board of Guardians," *Herald of Truth* (February 1874), XI:19.

[48] David Goerz and Funk, "Circular #1," *Herald of Truth* (February 1874), XI:18.

The second circular was printed in February, 1874. It reiterated many of the provisions of the first, but in more detail and it reassured the emigrants that plans to aid them were progressing. It informed them that all aid must, however, be accepted in the form of a loan since the gifts were insufficient. It requested each church to send a list of names of the needy to the Board so that its work could be made more effective.[49]

Meanwhile Warkentin had been contacting various transportation companies in an attempt to secure the cheapest possible rates for the immigrants. By February he had arranged terms with the Inman Steamship Line, which operated between Hamburg and New York via Liverpool and Hull, and the Erie Railroad Company, whereby these companies agreed to furnish transportation from Hamburg to the various desired destinations in the West for from forty to forty-two dollars per immigrant if the Board agreed to use its influence to route as many passengers as possible over their system.[50] The contract was signed on February 27, 1874, by Warkentin and Jacob Y. Shantz, representative of the Canadian brethren. In this contract, marked as confidential by the officials of the transportation companies, the Inman Line promised to provide good and wholesome food, sufficient space for comfort, German-speaking stewards, and to pay the Board of Guardians Agent in Hamburg. The Erie Railroad agreed to provide prompt and efficient service with sufficient room for comfort and meals at a reasonable rate on all immigrant trains.[51]

The Board of Guardians was not, however, the only emigrant aid committee at this time. In 1873, the Ontario brethren had organized a committee with Jacob Y. Shantz as president. Although this committee remained a separate unit throughout its existence, it consistently co-operated with the Board of Guardians. Shantz signed the Inman contracts with Warkentin, some of the Canadian funds were routed through the Board of Guardians' account in the Inman Company deposits, and Shantz maintained contact with Funk and

[49] Funk, "Circular #2," *Herald of Truth* (February 1874), XI:19.

[50] Leibbrandt, II, VII:29.
The terms from Hamburg were:

to Atchison, Kansas	$42.00
to Omaha, Nebraska	41.00
to St. Paul, Minnesota	41.00
to Sioux City, Iowa	42.00

This included a right to transport 20 cubic feet of baggage for each adult free on the ocean. The railroad permitted 150 lbs. of baggage per adult. Children 1 to 15 were to travel at half fare during the entire trip. Those 5 to 12 were permitted half fare on the railroads. All infants below the age of one were permitted free passage.

[51] *Ibid.*, 30.

had the Canadian Aid Committee's report printed periodically in the *Herald of Truth*.[52]

By February, 1874, the eastern conferences were the only ones without an aid committee. The members in the East had, however, responded well to the call for help that had reached them in the *Herald of Truth,* the largest church contribution to March, 1874, having come from the Franconia congregation in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania.[53] Furthermore the western committees had anticipated their formal participation and had kept an opening for eastern representatives on the Board of Guardians in their first committee report.[54] The Lancaster Conference met in March and was expected to appoint a committee at that time. It is evident that the Board of Guardians hoped to merge the two committees at the proper time. Warkentin, in a letter of February 27, 1874, wrote that he had received encouragement from Pennsylvania in hearing that they were anticipating the creation of a committee in the coming conference to "co-operate with us." To make sure that the invitation for the merging of all committees was appreciated by the eastern brethren he urged Funk to insert a notice in the *Herald of Truth* to explain that the Board of Guardians could be changed if the Pennsylvania committee were not satisfied with it.[55] To make certain that the terms for the merger were clear, Funk wrote to Amos Herr of Lancaster on March 27 advising him of the desires of the Board of Guardians to co-operate with the Pennsylvania brethren. In his answer to Funk, Herr related the appointment of Gabriel Baer of Montgomery County, John Shenk of Lancaster, and Isaac Eby of Boyerstown to the Lancaster Conference aid committee. He also promised to show Funk's letter to the committee and to ask them to correspond with him, but, he added, "There seems to be a general regret that there was not an arrangement hit with the Quaker Line at Philadelphia [The Red Star Line]. Brother, I think it is essentially necessary that you have an interview with our committee."[56] About two weeks later this committee met with the other existing committees in Pennsylvania and chose a board of

[52] The first of these reports was printed in the *Herald of Truth* (January 1874), XI:10. The reports appear sometimes only as summaries of information submitted by Shantz. The other members of the Committee were Elias Schneider, John Gascho, Samuel Reesor, and John Koch.

[53] Funk, *Autobiography,* Russian Emigration, 5.

[54] Funk, "Report," *Herald of Truth* (February 1874), XI:19; see also Christian Krehbiel, "Report to the Conference," *Herald of Truth* (December 1876), XIII:198.

[55] Warkentin to Funk, February 12, 1874, translated from the German by Walter Hodel, Funk Papers. Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen, Indiana.

[56] Amos Herr to John Funk, March 29, 1874, Funk Papers.

directors, which they named the Mennonite Executive Aid Committee of Pennsylvania. In this committee John Shenk was named secretary; Gabriel Baer, treasurer; Herman Godshall, corresponding secretary, and Casper Hett, Philadelphia, agent.[57]

The main obstacle to the forming of a combined committee appears to have been the desire of the Pennsylvania brethren to deal with the Red Star Line, which was largely owned by Quakers who had always been friendly to the Mennonites. Soon after the organization of the Executive Aid Committee, a contract was signed with this line whose ships sailed between Antwerp and Philadelphia. This contract afforded several advantages which had not been achieved in the Inman Line contract. The rates agreed on allowed a considerable reduction from those in the Inman contract. The Red Star Company agreed to furnish transportation from Antwerp to the desired destination in Western America for from $35 to $37 per emigrant, depending on the distance traversed and allowed reduction for the children and baggage equivalent to that of the Inman contract.[58] The land transportation was furnished by the Pennsylvania Railroad, whose agent, Francis Funk, a brother of John Funk, provided them a special guarantee of good treatment. Furthermore, the Red Star Line ships docked at Philadelphia, and thereby enhanced the opportunity of the Pennsylvania residents to minister to the needs of the travelers before sending them West.

Funk's attitude toward this arrangement was expressed in an editorial in the *Herald of Truth* where he expressed sorrow that the arrangements were not all under one committee, but added that since this was not possible, "we shall take an entirely impartial view of the matter, and shall try . . . to carry out in good faith what we have agreed to . . . . We wish our brethren in Pennsylvania God's blessing in their work and trust they will be able to accomplish much good . . . . There will be enough for us all to do and we must commend the zeal of our brethren everywhere in this great and important work."[59] The later action of all three committees shows that a spirit of co-operation did exist between them in their activities. When the Pennsylvania committee organized in April, Funk and

[57] "The Russian Aid in Pennsylvania," *Herald of Truth* (May 1874), XI:88.

[58] Funk, *Diary,* May 6, 1874, Archives of the Mennonite Church. The terms from Antwerp were:

to Yankton, Dakota	$37.00
to Sioux City, Iowa	36.00
to Omaha, Nebraska	36.00
to Atchison, Kansas	35.00
to St. Paul, Minnesota	35.00

[59] "The Russian Aid in Pennsylvania," *Herald of Truth* (May 1874), XI:88.

Shantz were both invited to attend the meeting. In a letter to Funk on April 9, 1874, Shantz mentioned an invitation to come to Lancaster County for a meeting of the different committees, but added that he was not yet sure that he would go.[60] He apparently decided to accept, however, because Funk wrote in his diary on a later date of having been present at a meeting of the "Pennsylvania Russian Aid Committee" with J. Y. Shantz of Ontario, H. B. Shelly of Milford, Indiana, and some of the eastern brethren on April 4.[61] Funk accompanied Amos Herr and John Shenk to Philadelphia to meet with representatives of the Red Star Line, apparently to discuss the terms for the above-mentioned contract. Once this new contract was accomplished, Funk used his influence to have the Russians take advantage of its better terms, despite the agreement of the Board of Guardians to use their influence to route all the immigrants over the Inman Line. In a correspondence with his brother, Francis Funk, he arranged to have the Red Star agent in Antwerp accept Board of Guardian certificates and to notify the Russian brethren of this advantage.[62] On June 20 he wrote a letter to Leonhard Sudermann in Russia informing him of the savings to be effected with the use of the Red Star Line.[63] Near the same time he wrote to another Russian leader advising him of the arrangements which had been completed by the Pennsylvania committee and urging him to take advantage of this situation. In doing this he presented the following five reasons which help us to understand his thinking concerning this aspect of the emigrant picture:

1. The owners of the Red Star Line are Quakers and are very friendly to us and are concerned about our well-being.
2. The emigrants can be certain of the most excellent treatment in their care.
3. The passage is cheaper, both for the committee and for those who are able to pay their fare.
4. The Pennsylvania committee wishes to give only to the Red Star Line because the Quakers "take part in our things" but they do not want to send their money to New York.
5. The Pennsylvania brethren are able to provide more money than the rest of the groups together, are willing to furnish homes among the brethren for the poor and the weak until

[60] J. Y. Shantz to John Funk, April 9, 1874, Funk Papers.
[61] Funk, *Diary*, April 16, 1874.
[62] Francis F. Funk, Agent of the Pennsylvania Railroad, to John Funk, April 24 and April 25, 1874, Funk Papers.
[63] John Funk to Leonhard Sudermann, June 20, 1874, Funk Papers.

> they are able to go on, and have promised to furnish an immigrant house for all in Philadelphia, a convenience that is not available in New York.[64]

Although the Board of Guardians continued to deal directly with the Inman Line, Funk gave much support to the Pennsylvania company. Finally, in 1876, he transferred the Board's business entirely to the Red Star Line.

When in the autumn of 1873, the American Mennonites realized that the envisioned immigration would materialize by the next spring, they responded wholeheartedly to the call for financial aid which came to them through the pages of the *Herald of Truth*. Each congregation organized so that one or a few men were responsible to supply the Board of Guardians with the subscribed money as needed. The first receipts came as gifts and by February 1, 1874, over $1000 had been donated.[65] The largest donations to this time had come from the Sonnenberg congregation in Wayne County, Ohio, which had given $145 and from the Amish church in the Kishacoquillas Valley, Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, which had given $135.[66] To this time, the Canadian committee, which had gotten a head start, had far outstripped all the others with a reported $7,488 ready for use when needed. Of this amount, $909 had been presented by the Amish brethren.[67]

Encouraging as this seemed, these amounts were but a small beginning. The full extent of the responsibility resting upon the Board was emphasized by a letter which Funk received from the Mennonites of Poland in January, which enumerated the amount that would be necessary to transport all those desiring to come to America from this area in 1874. Arranged according to the need of each village the list was as follows:

Karolswalde	$9,000.00
Karolsberg	2,750.00
Jadweninne	5,600.00
Gruenthal	2,550.00
Fuerstendorf	5,400.00

[64] John Funk to an unidentified Russian leader, 1874, translated from the German by Walter Hodel, Funk Papers.

[65] The names of the donors and the amount donated were printed in each issue of the *Herald of Truth*. This served as a receipt for the donation.

[66] John F. Funk, *Autobiography*, 5.

[67] "Report of the Canadian Aid Committee," *Herald of Truth* (January 1874), XI:10.

Antonowka	11,000.00
Waldheim	3,000.00

to make a total need of $40,000 for the emigration of this colony.[68]

The Board of Guardians placed its money in the Home Savings Bank of Chicago until sufficient amount had accumulated to deposit it in New York City in charge of John G. Dale, agent of the Inman Line.[69] The first amount was deposited in New York on April 20, 1874. At that time $5,000 was recorded to the account of the Board of Guardians. On April 30, 1874, a second deposit of $5,000 was recorded and on August 10, a third, this time for $5,021.[70] By the end of the year $18,887.41 had been deposited. Of this, $13,099.64 had been paid for passage for the destitute Russian emigrants.[71] Besides the Board's deposits the Canadian committee had deposited $1,500 in the Board fund with the Inman Line.[72] According to an estimate by Funk, the Pennsylvania committee had deposited at least $15,000 with the Red Star Line by September of this same year.[73]

This year, 1874, was the high point in the emigration movement and it produced many exciting experiences for the people involved. The routes which were taken by the immigrants covered several different territories. Some went through Elkhart, Indiana, others through Summerfield, Illinois, while some stopped only in Pennsylvania before going on to their destination in the west. Whenever a new group came, the Mennonite communities provided what help they could for them. This entailed much work and responsibility for the leaders of the communities involved. In Elkhart Funk usually carried this responsibility, which produced some interesting experiences for him. The first group to arrive at Elkhart consisted of only four men who had been on their way for exactly one month. Before the summer was over, however, much larger groups had partaken of the hospitality of the Mennonites of that area. Probably the largest group was one of seven hundred persons

[68] Reprint of the petition which was signed by Peter Richert, Benjamin Unruh, Peter Unruh, Andreas Unruh, Abraham Seibert, Henry Dircks, Benjamin Deckert, and David Wedel, *Herald of Truth* (February 1874), XI:39.

[69] H. H. Blake, cashier of the Home Savings Bank, Chicago, to John Funk concerning the deposit of a considerable amount of Board money, June 29, 1874, Funk Papers.

[70] Board of Guardians Account Book, 35, Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen, Indiana.

[71] David Goerz to Funk, March 22, 1877, translated from the German by Walter Hodel, Funk Papers.

[72] "The Russian Emigration," *Herald of Truth* (May 1874), XI:88. Only $1,327.50 of this amount was paid to the Inman Line. The main Canadian emigration was handled by the Allan Line.

[73] "The Russian Aid Fund," *Herald of Truth* (September 1874), XI:152.

which arrived in Elkhart on August 31. This group required eight passenger coaches to accommodate them but they remained in Elkhart for only one day before going on to their destination.[74]

News of departures from Hamburg and of arrivals in New York continued throughout the months of May and June. The first large influx of settlers came in the months of July and August and in these months Funk was presented with his toughest trials. During the night of Saturday, July 19, his daughter, Grace Ann, who had been sick and struggling for her life for several days, weakened and died. The grieving father, who had kept a hopeful vigil over his child for a greater part of the night, was badly worn by the next morning. Nevertheless, he was awakened early in the morning from his well-deserved sleep and informed that twenty-four families of Russians had arrived on the morning train and must be provided for. Later, concerning this situation, he wrote, "Under the circumstances it was indeed a question as to what I could do for them. But near the church was a vacant house, quite roomy. I secured the key and opened it. After hauling the heavy baggage and the old people to the house, I called a grocer in the vicinity and asked him to open his store and sell these people bread, meat, coffee, tea, etc. . . . (*sic*) They took the work into their own hands and washed, dressed, made dinner and at two o'clock had church services." These people remained in Elkhart for about a month before they continued on to Kansas where they finally settled.[75]

This group had scarcely departed when the large Alexanderwohl group of about 700 souls arrived on August 31 under the leadership of Jacob Buller. When Funk returned home that day after having preached the funeral service of a member of the previous group, who had become ill and died, he received the telegram informing him that the Alexanderwohl group would arrive at six o'clock. Of this experience Funk wrote, "This was one of my hardest trials, seven hundred [strangers] as a company to be fed and taken care of was an unusual task, but by the help of our heavenly Father we took care of them. They came, and in the evening I took Brother Buller and his companion to my home and entertained them, and a little later the representatives of four different railroad corporations came to see if they could induce this 700 company to settle on their land that each had for sale. . . . we decided not to leave them in Elkhart. But in twenty-four hours after

[74] Funk, *Autobiography,* Russian Immigration, 8.
[75] Funk, *Diary,* July 20, 1874.

they arrived, the same train they came in would leave Elkhart again . . . for the fair grounds at Lincoln, Nebraska.[76]

The month of July was the high point in the immigration of 1874. Of the total of 6,400 souls who arrived that year nearly 2,000 of them found homes in America during that month. Throughout this busy year Funk was constantly active.[77] His activities included presenting a hospitable atmosphere to those who stopped in Elkhart, receiving and transmitting messages of the immigration activity, securing contacts for the immigrants with railroad and state officials, publishing information of the immigration proceedings in the *Herald of Truth,* receiving and allocating donations, maintaining co-operation between the different committees, and executing many other assignments which often faced him unexpectedly. Although he often met with unpleasant situations in performing these tasks, he only once showed any sign of disgust or anger in his letters or in his diary. On November 13, 1874, a cold fall day, a group of immigrants under the leadership of Paul Tschetter arrived unexpectedly in Elkhart. After Funk had vainly sought all day to find lodging for them, he wrote in his diary: "Became completely disgusted and tired of such a set of nonsensical fools as we have here in the city of Elkhart. Houses—a hundred houses are said to stand idle and empty in the town and yet people rather have them stand empty than to rent them to persons who want to occupy them and fill them up. They seem to be afraid of these people. I must think our [Elkhart] people are a very narrow-minded, unfeeling people."[78]

Funk was not, however, the only person who was unselfishly presenting his time and abilities to help these brethren. A movement of this scope demanded the co-operation of many people. Much work was done by individuals who opened their homes or purses as the need arose. Others spent their full time at low pay. At each port used by the refugees the aid committees had representatives who facilitated the activities necessary for a successful journey. Experienced help of this kind was necessary because fraud faced the immigrants at nearly every turn. The necessity for changing currency as they journeyed in different countries promised a loss to the inexperienced traveler. Other dangers lay in the schemes of

[76] Carbon copy of an untitled article by Funk, Funk Papers.

[77] Peter Jansen in a letter to Funk, of June 11, 1895 (Funk Papers), recalls a long trip into the Northwest which the Jansens made with John Funk and Mrs. Funk in the fall of 1874, which is not mentioned by Funk in relation to the immigration proceedings.

[78] Funk, *Diary,* November 13, 1874.

ne'er-do-wells who frequented places where unsuspecting, friendless people congregated. Against these frauds and dangers the Board's agents were constantly on guard. In Europe, Henry Schütt, agent of the Board of Guardians, was able to gain important advantages in transportation fare reductions, in routing travel along the most direct route, and in presenting much other information which isolated groups would not be likely to obtain. These services were made available to the travelers as soon as they crossed the Russian border. In America either Bernhard Warkentin or David Goerz met every group that landed in New York. These men were given special permits to enter Castle Garden, the immigration center in New York, to help the travelers. Here they would purchase railroad tickets to the proper places and ward off other agents of all kinds and persons who attempted to impose on the immigrants under the guise of "Christian love or disinterested benevolence."[79]

Not all the immigrants were able to finance a farming enterprise after they had arrived in America. The Board of Guardians helped some of these stock their farms, but their primary purpose was to furnish passage money, not to finance business expeditions once the immigrants had arrived. Others of these people were given an opportunity to remain in the East for a time and to work for established Mennonite farmers until they had paid their passage and saved enough money to join their former relatives. Many of the American brethren were willing to give more liberally toward the immigration if they could be repaid in this fashion. Many from Russia also agreed to this arrangement which would provide homes for them until they could obtain their own, give them employment, pay for their passage, and help them to become acquainted with the American methods of labor.[80] How many immigrants accepted this opportunity can not be ascertained, but there is evidence that a considerable number did.

On December 25, the last contingent to arrive in 1874 docked in Philadelphia. The winter as well as the aid committees were on hand to greet them. The party numbered about 700 souls of which nearly 500 were destitute. This group, of Prussian background, came from Poland under the leadership of Tobias Unruh. The Mennonites of Bucks, Montgomery, and Lancaster counties, Pennsylvania, rallied to their aid and made provision for them to remain

[79] "Report of the Mennonite Board of Guardians, *Herald of Truth* (November 1874), XI:177.

[80] "Another Way to Aid Our Russian Brethren," *Herald of Truth* (February 1874), XI:41.

with them until the warmer weather of spring would render conditions more feasible for western settlement. Nevertheless they refused the invitation and continued on, to face the winter in the West. Why they did not remain in Pennsylvania or who was responsible for their going has not been fully determined. Bernhard Warkentin, who was nearest to them on their arrival in Kansas, wrote to Funk that their leaders seem to have thought that they could very well take care of themselves.[81] When they arrived in Kansas they were without destination or provision. Warkentin received them and with the help of $500 which had been taken from the moneys earmarked for passage by the Board of Guardians, $1,000 which the Pennsylvania aid committee had sent him despite the fact that their counsel had been ignored, and $300 which had been donated by the Summerfield congregation, set up plans to care for them in a railroad immigrant house that he found available. This was a new problem for the Board of Guardians which had been organized to provide passage money only. To provide for these people would cost $50 per day for food alone. Further, land on which these people might find a permanent home had to be supplied before they could become self-supporting.[82]

Funk appears to have been no little dismayed with the action which necessitated this extra expense and labor for the Board of Guardians, which took the responsibility for these people, but he publicly blamed no one.[83] He rather used his energies to raise money to finance the colony and to discover means to care for these people. Warkentin arranged with the railroads to ship relief food to the colony free of charge.[84] A committee, named the Kansas Central Relief Committee, was organized to administer the relief goods upon its arrival from the East.[85] On March 8, 1875, the Board of Guardians convened in a special session to discuss the problem. At this meeting the Board decided to place each family on forty acres of land and to provide them with such implements, cattle, and seed as would prove absolutely necessary. The money

[81] Warkentin to Funk, Jan. 18, 1875, translated from the German by Walter Hodel, Funk Papers.

[82] "The Russian Aid," *Herald of Truth* (February 1875), XII:25.

[83] Christian Krehbiel, president of the Board of Guardians, tended to believe that the fault lay in Francis Funk's desire to provide trade for the Pennsylvania Railroad, of which he was an agent. "Christian Krehbiel," in *From the Steppes to the Prairies* (Newton, Kansas, 1949), 44. The evidence, however, does not support this.

[84] "The Russian Aid," *Herald of Truth* (February 1875), XII:25.

[85] Isaac Kilmer, "The Settlement of the Families Without Means at Florence in Kansas," *Herald of Truth* (May 1875), XII:73. The members of the committee were Peter Unruh, President; Bernhard Warkentin, Secretary; David S. Holdeman, Treasurer; Christian Hirschler and Benjamin Unruh, Business Agents.

used in this operation would be loaned to them at six per cent interest, with the whole community accepting the responsibility for the repayment of the loan. The local committee was charged with the administration of the plan under the supervision of the Board of Guardians who would provide the money.[86]

They decided to locate the colony at Canton, about fifteen miles north of Halstead, Kansas. By early spring each family had been allotted its portion. Construction of temporary housing and plowing for spring planting began immediately.[87] All materials for building purposes and for farming operations were purchased with money which had been loaned to the colony by the American Mennonites. This sum, which was handled by D. S. Holdeman, the local committee chairman, totaled $6,875.50 by June 6, 1875. With this amount the colony had purchased a minimum of farm equipment and material to complete twenty-eight houses at the cost of $40.35 per house. Twenty more houses were also under construction at this time.[88] As their second winter in the United States approached the outlook for these people seemed more favorable, but their situation was still far from comfortable. Money was almost nonexistent in the colony. Their first crops had not yielded abundantly. Many homes were without sufficient fuel. Food was scarce and clothing was becoming worn and thin. Because of this condition the committee maintained a connection with the colony and continued to send supplies to those who were in greatest need. This aid was administered by the local committee until it disbanded on May 16, 1876. After this the Board of Guardians dealt directly with the colony until help was no longer needed. The total financial help given this community through the Kansas Local Relief Committee was $12,418.06. Of this amount, $1,834.23 had been spent for provisions to carry the colony over the first winter. The sum of $10,351.18 was used to provide farming implements, household furniture, and the like, and $232.65 went for miscellaneous items.[89] This does not, however, include the $1,000 which the Executive Aid Committee of Pennsylvania presented them. Of the $12,418.06

[86] At the meeting of the Board of Guardians in March, 1875, at Elkhart, John F. Funk, Samuel F. Sprunger, Christian Christophel, and Heinrich Shaum, all ministers, were appointed to visit the Mennonite congregations best known to them to expedite the rapid collection of funds. David Goerz, Sec., Beschlüsse der Conference der Mennonite Board of Guardians" Mennonite Church Archives, Goshen, Indiana).

[87] "Emigration and Settlement of the Russian Brethren," *Herald of Truth* (May 1875), XII:72.

[88] "The Kansas Committee," *Herald of Truth* (August 1875), XII:157.

[89] Summers, Goerz, Peter Unruh, and Samuel Koehn, "Report of the Kansas Committee," *Herald of Truth* (July 1876), XIII:121.

mentioned above, approximately $10,400.00 resulted from Funk's appeal to the readers of the *Herald of Truth.* The amount of $631.71 was taken from the passage money in the treasury of the Board of Guardians and the rest was contributed through other members of the committee. Of the total, 63 per cent, or over $7,800, was donated. The rest was loaned on a five-year term.[90]

The immigration movement continued through 1875 and by November of that year over 1200 families had arrived.[91] Although immigrants continued to arrive throughout the remaining years of the decade, the main rush of the movement was diminished. Consequently the strain on the finances of the Board decreased and whereas they had expended over $13,000 for passage money in 1874, they spent only $3,682 for this purpose in 1875.[92] The remaining need for assistance en route and for securing land and implements for settlement, however, created sufficient motivation for continued labor. This continued need and the problem of the Polish Mennonite group was the subject discussed at the regular meeting of the Board of Guardians at Halstead, Kansas, October 26 to 28, with the members of the Kansas Relief Committee present. The first business attacked at this time was the settlement of a dispute which arose when the members of the Stucky church objected to the position held by Christian Hirschler, a member of the Kansas Relief Committee, because of a purchase of lumber made for the church by Hirschler. A committee of five, of which Funk was a member, spent two days and a night in apparently continuous session reviewing the case before they reached a decision. This decision fully acquitted Hirschler of the charges brought against him. After the decision was given, Funk relates, "All the interested parties acquiesced in the decision, freely forgave and asked forgiveness of each other and we believe a full and complete satisfaction and peace was established on all sides."

Another task of this meeting was to organize the above-mentioned Mennonites of Poland into an official church body, so that it could assume the responsibility for the debt it owed to the Board of Guardians. This was effected under the title, "The Canton Mennonite Church of McPherson County, Kansas." After a preliminary organization was completed, the Board appointed Funk

[90] David Goerz, "Final Receipts of the Kansas Local Relief Committee," *Herald of Truth* (July 1876), XIII:122. The $1,000 contributed earlier by the Executive Aid Committee of Pennsylvania was not handled by the Kansas Local Relief Committee.

[91] Funk, *Diary,* November 1, 1875.

[92] David Goerz to John Funk, March 22, 1877, Funk Papers.

and Isaac Kilmer to inspect the settlement and to draw up notes on the laying out of the lands, so that the railroad company could prepare and execute the contracts with the settlers. They also supervised the election of three men, who with the ministers were charged with forming a committee to provide the necessities of the church and to sign the notes for the money received by the church. The lesson of the Canton group had been a hard one and the Board considered means of more adequately controlling the future immigration. They decided to promise no more aid until the possibilities of fulfilling their present promises could be more easily seen. David Goerz offered his resignation as traveling agent. This was accepted but he continued as secretary.[93]

The election of the Canton committee was held on October 27. On the twenty-ninth, Funk, D. S. Holdeman, and Isaac Kilmer began drawing up the notes for the lands. By Saturday, October 30, the work at Canton was completed and Funk began a leisurely trip home in which he visited many of the new Mennonite settlements. He arrived home on November 2. While he was in the Canton settlement he had noted the conditions in which the people were living and later printed them in the *Herald of Truth,* using them to appeal to the people for further aid for these immigrants.[94] It was among these people that John Holdeman found many followers, whom he organized into the Church of God in Christ Mennonite.

By the end of 1875 the greatest work of the Board of Guardians was accomplished.[95] Although they paid several thousand dollars for the passage of destitute Russian emigrants during the remainder of the decade, this activity was now a routine one. The main problem that was discussed at the annual Board meeting at Halstead in November, 1876, concerned the proper methods of bonding and collecting outstanding loans. Since about one fourth of the money the immigrants had received had been donated, the problem was how to treat all fairly when the time came for repayment of the loans. The method finally agreed upon consisted of taking notes from all the immigrants who had received aid for the full amount which they had received, but to endorse one fourth of each note as having been paid, so that each person who gave a

[93] Funk, "Notes on the Conference," *Herald of Truth* (December 1875), XII:203.

[94] Funk, "Notes on the Conference," *Herald of Truth* (January 1876), XIII:9.

[95] Krehbiel's autobiography in Krahn: *From the Steppes to the Prairies,* 41, cites a meeting of the Board of Guardians with the Aid Committee of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia on November 29, 1875, to promote the idea of transporting all of the immigrants over the Red Star Line. Funk mentions nothing of this meeting and may not have been present.

note received one fourth as a gift. Each person who had loaned money would then receive as many notes as were required to cover the full amount that he had loaned. Thus if a man had loaned $100, he received notes to the value of $133.33, but since one fourth of the notes or $33.33 was endorsed as paid, he collected only $100 due him. In this way the value of the gifts was represented and the creditors were repaid. The notes which remained in the hands of the Board after all the outstanding claims were satisfied were retained by the treasurer to pay any note which might not be collectible because of the death or illness of the debtor.[96] Funk, as treasurer, was charged to construct these notes and to send them to all who had loaned any money through the Board of Guardians. With the notes Funk also sent the address of the immigrant who had given the note and the name of the leader of the community in which the debtor lived. All inquiry concerning the note was to be addressed to this community leader. In this way the Board hoped to simplify the procedure by placing full responsibility on the creditor and the community. In most cases this system functioned smoothly when the notes came due early in the next decade. Except in the poorer communities, as in the Canton settlement and in some areas of Dakota where the failure of crops and the general poverty of the original settlers forced them to postpone payment beyond the due date, the notes were paid on time and with a minimum of friction. The majority of the creditors were reasonable in the cases of delay but enough difficulty was created to present Funk with a number of problems. Some of the immigrants had moved from their original settlements, leaving Funk the responsibility for the discovery of their new address. Many times the instructions explaining the process for liquidating the notes were not understood and additional explanations were necessary. The office of the Western Publishing House in Halstead, Kansas, where David Goerz, the Board secretary, had kept his records, was destroyed by fire and the record of many of the immigrant notes was lost. Many times Funk found himself the mediator between the claims of the creditors and debtors. In these cases he usually upheld the side of the new settlers and several times found it necessary to plead for more time for them in his editorials in the *Herald of Truth.*

After 1876 the amount of money which went through the Board of Guardian treasury slowed to a small percentage of the amounts handled from 1874 through 1876. This gave Funk more

[96] *Herald of Truth* (January 1877), XIV:9.

time to do the many other tasks which confronted him. His interest in the Russian migration did not, however, lessen and he continued to use his influence for their benefit whenever necessary. When he received a call for help from the Manitoba colony in 1877 he used his influence through the *Herald of Truth* to help them. In 1878 while visiting in the east he went to New York City to welcome a shipload of Mennonite immigrants who had just arrived.[97] The response to an editorial in the *Herald of Truth* provided nearly a hundred dollars to pay expenses for medical attention needed by a mother in Dakota who had been severely burned.[98] For years after the actual immigration, the *Herald of Truth* informed Mennonites all over the world of the situation of the settlers in America.

The last episode in the Russian immigration with which Funk was connected occurred in the summer of 1884. A group of Russian Mennonites had settled in Turkestan where they hoped they could find freedom. After wandering for a time in search of a site for settlement, they finally stopped in Khiva, and Turkestan where they established a colony in that comparatively governmentless land. The natives continually plagued them with thievery and other more serious offenses, until they were nearly destitute. In 1884 they achieved contact with some relatives who had immigrated to Western America, from whom they sought aid so that they could also come to this land. The pioneer Mennonite settlers at once set up two aid committees which they named the Nebraska Aid Committee and the American Mennonite Aid Committee. These committees consisted of members of the newly founded Russian Mennonite settlements in Kansas and Nebraska who wished to raise funds to help their brethren in central Asia as they themselves had been helped a short time before. They turned to Funk for aid in advertising their project. Funk responded and kept his readers informed of the situation.[99] Throughout the whole project, the Nebraska Aid Committee provided $6,519.45 to aid their Asian brethren. Of this amount, Funk was responsible for $600.[100]

The total official receipts of the Board of Guardians amounted to $40,484.16. Of this amount, $23,595.49 was used to provide passage for the destitute, between 1874 and 1881. The Inman Line Steamship Company and the Erie Railroad received $22,-

[97] Funk, *Diary*, July 2, 1878.
[98] Andreas Schrag, "Acknowledgment," *Herald of Truth* (October 1882), XIX:313.
[99] L. E. Zimmerman, "A Call for Help," *Herald of Truth* (April 1884), XXI:122.
[100] Zimmerman, "Report of the Nebraska Aid Committee," *Herald of Truth* (February 1885), XXII:55.

395.49 for their services. A total of $1,200 was paid to the Red Star Line and the Pennsylvania Railroad to whom the Board switched their entire business after 1876.[101] Of the remaining $16,888.67, the Polish Mennonites of Canton, Kansas, received $11,767.01. Board of Guardian travel expenses accounted for $542.48, expenditures for provisions for the needy while en route amounted to $585.25, the colonies of Dakota borrowed $3,146.60, and the poor in Manitoba were given $282.50 and 100 English Pounds. The balance was used to cover miscellaneous expenses, as stationery, telegrams, and the like.[102]

The contributions to the Canadian Aid Committee totaled $41,100 by October, 1876.[103] With this they substantially aided the successful settlement of 8,250 souls in Manitoba. The Pennsylvania Aid Committee contributed $43,786.43. Of this amount, $30,153.34 was donated by the Mennonites of Lancaster County, $11,782.84 by those in Montgomery County, and $1,850.43 coming from Philadelphia and Bucks County.[104] However, the enumeration of the financial aid given to the immigrants does not present an adequate comprehension of the actual aid and services presented to the immigrants by the native Mennonites. Much time and energy was spent to provide comfort and convenience to the travelers. Many homes were opened to lodge these people during the time while land for permanent settlement was being selected. Many people contributed wholeheartedly and sacrificially to the success of the whole movement.

One must not succumb to the grave error of thinking that the credit for the successful settlement should be bestowed upon the

[101] John Shenk to John Funk, April 18, 1876. Funk Papers. Shenk mentions here that Krehbiel and Goerz had agreed to switching business to the Red Star Line. The reasons for this were: 1. The Red Star Line gave better rates than the Inman Line. 2. The Inman Line had an agreement with the other Liverpool Lines to transport no one for less than the advertised rates. Funk was not willing to have this company break her agreement to continue transporting the Russians at the rates that had been agreed upon.

[102] Board of Guardians Account Book.

[103] "Report of Letters from J. Y. Shantz," *Herald of Truth* (October 1876), XIII: 168; "A Report of the Mennonite Aid Committee of Canada," *Herald of Truth* (June 1875), gave the amount contributed to June 1875 as being $25,484.62. The original of this report is in the Archives of the Waterloo Historical Society, Kitchener, Ontario.

[104] These figures are taken from a copy of "The Fourth Account of the Mennonite Executive Aid Committee of Pa., as of Nov. 1st, 1880," in the Ernst Correll Collection, Mennonite Church Archives, Goshen, Indiana. The donations of the individual congregations of Bucks County are enumerated in "the accounts of H. K. Godshall of the Russian migration," in the Ernst Correll Collection. H. S. Bender, "Our Mennonite Church Archives," *Gospel Herald,* June 15, 1939, XXXII:234, relates that a bagful of priceless records of the Executive Aid Committee of Pennsylvania had been burned by descendants of one of the committee's members, two weeks before the author called to secure the records for the Mennonite Archives.

efforts of one man or one committee. Many people and many organizations contributed to its success. We have already sketched the part contributed by the three Mennonite aid committees: the Mennonite Board of Guardians, which operated in the Middle West, The Mennonite Aid Committee of Canada, and the Executive Aid Committee of Pennsylvania. Representatives of the governments of Canada and the United States played a conspicuous role in the drama of the immigration. The land agents of the western railroad companies aided the immigrants in no small way. Nevertheless during the entire activity, John Funk constantly exhibited an understanding of and an appreciation for the situation, which, coupled with the dynamic energy with which he attacked the problem, emphasizes the prominent part that his activity contributed to the final successful consummation of the project. Funk's correspondence with Cornelius Jansen led the way for the later immigration. The *Herald of Truth* was the medium which reached a larger American Mennonite community at that time than was reached by any other agency. Funk took full advantage of his position as editor of this paper and of his intimate knowledge of the Mennonite people to persuade them to take part in this project. Funk had been a native of Pennsylvania and maintained a wide and intimate acquaintance with all Mennonite leaders. This acquaintance made it possible for him to co-ordinate the work of the three Mennonite committees so that they co-operated in a manner which might otherwise have been impossible. His constant willingness to sacrifice his time, his resources, and his home life to accompany the delegates on their journeys, to attend committee meetings in all sections of the country and open his home for the comfort of his guests, as well as his sincere understanding of and his almost unlimited patience with the conditions of the immigrants mark him as at least one of their outstanding friends. The writer believes that one cannot err greatly by agreeing with Cornelius Jansen's son Peter who in 1908 wrote to Funk concerning the past immigration and said, "I say it without any desire to flatter you that no one has done more, yes, I might say as much, for our people than yourself; and no one has served more unselfishly than you."[105]

[105] Peter Jansen to John F. Funk, April 15, 1908, Funk Papers, Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen, Indiana.

JACOB Y. SHANTZ, 1822-1909, PROMOTER OF THE MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS IN MANITOBA

MELVIN GINGERICH

Jacob Schanz, the great-grandfather of Jacob Y. Shantz, came to Pennsylvania from Switzerland in 1737.[1] In 1810 his grandson Jacob Shantz moved from Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, to Ontario, and in that same year purchased a farm of over 136 acres on what is now King Street, East, Kitchener, Ontario.[2] On this family homestead, on May 2, 1822, was born to Jacob Shantz and his wife, Maria Yost Shantz, their eighth child, Jacob Yost Shantz, of whom the historian of the family wrote in 1930, "Not in his time or since has there been a member of the Shantz Freundschaft in Ontario who was so widely known and respected."[3]

The records reveal little concerning the childhood and youth of Jacob Y. Shantz. In his eighty-fourth year, he recalled that he learned his ABC's in the old frame building east of the old Mennonite Church, where Mr. Dekoy taught during the winter months.[4] In 1906 Mr. Shantz was reported as remembering attending a summer school in about 1828 taught by a Miss Clemens. He also recalled attending a school in which English was taught by Mr. Winger in the "Union Church," where "the scholars shivered while sitting around the stove."[5] As his parents were members of the Mennonite Church whose first meetinghouse had been erected near their homestead in 1813, one assumes that he received from this church and from his parents the spiritual nurture that resulted in his sterling Christian character.

When the first Shantz home at 61 South Street was built the records do not state. Mr. Shantz's father had built this frame edifice and occupied it until his death in 1867. His widow lived in it two years longer until her death in 1869. Jacob Y. erected a large

[1] *The Shantz Family,* Published by the Shantz Family Association, Kitchener, Ontario, 1930, 5, 17, 19.

[2] H. M. Bowman, "Jacob Y. Shantz, Pioneer of Russian Mennonite Immigration to Manitoba," *Twelfth Annual Report of the Waterloo Historical Society,* Published by the Society, Kitchener, Ontario, 1924. 85-.

[3] *The Shantz Family,* 8.

[4] *Hannes Schneider and his wife Catherine Haus Schneider Their Descendants and Times 1534-1939,* Published by Miriam Helen Snyder, 466 Queen St. South, Kitchener, Ontario, 1943? 316.

[5] *Ibid.,* 216-228.

brick dwelling to the west of his father's home in 1856. The two houses were joined but remained two separate units. Jacob Y. lived in the brick house until 1877 when his son Jacob B. married and moved into it. At that time Jacob Y. moved into the frame structure formerly occupied by his father and lived there until 1884 when he bought a property at 105 Queen Street North. The family homestead had come into his possession in December, 1867, and was transferred to his son, Jacob B. Shantz, in December, 1883.[6]

Mr. Shantz managed the homestead from shortly after his first marriage (1843) until the place was sold to his son in 1883. His interests, however, early extended beyond the vocation of farming. A sawmill built by his father in about 1829 became his property in 1847. Jacob Y. soon rebuilt it, and after buying a large area of pine timber near by, began supplying lumber for local building purposes. The timber on his lands kept the sawmill going for many years. He also furnished firewood for the Grand Trunk Railroad and for factories in Berlin (now Kitchener). He constantly added timber to his holdings, and in addition owned the largest maple grove in the vicinity, tapping over four hundred trees yearly. Interested in fruit raising, he planted three orchards on his land, having obtained several thousand fruit trees from the nursery in Rochester, New York. In his farming and in his lumber business he used improved methods and machinery, importing perhaps the first reaping machine into Canada.

Concerning his activity as a farmer, his son, Moses B., wrote,

> During the ten years between 1862-1872 when he was from 40-50 years of age, he was especially active in developing his agricultural, timber, and building interests. Obtaining possession of three different tracts of virgin forests within five miles of the homestead, aggregating about five hundred acres suitable for making three farms, he proceeded to turn the forests into timber and firewood and the land into farms. The men employed in the sawmill and timber, during the busiest season, assisted on the farms, and in the winter the men and teams working on the farms, assisted in the work connected with the wood and lumber in the winter. He had the faculty of keeping every man and team busy all the time; an indication of efficient management.
>
> Each of these three new farms required a set of good farm buildings, consisting of large bank barns with stone foundations for stables. They were also used to support the large superstructures used for hay and grain, with sheds for keeping straw and implements, for protection of the cattle and horses when not in the stables. Each farm was also to have a good two story home for a residence. Besides these, the two older farms were to have the old homes replaced by brick houses for residences, to be occupied by the manager or owner. These were some of the extra activities

[6] H. M. Bowman, 86, 87.

that were taken up in addition to his regular business. With all these added interests, he kept up his part of the work in community welfare.[7]

His sawmill led him into the building and contracting business. It is said that he built the De Bus block for Jacob Weaver without any contract except the oral understanding that the work and price were to be satisfactory.[8] The Canadian Block, which he built of brick in 1861, was owned by him; it was one of the first important business structures of that time.

German immigrants who came to Berlin were given work by Mr. Shantz. He built houses for them on terms which they were able to meet and which made it possible for even the very poor to own their homes. On one occasion it was stated that Mr. Shantz agreed to build a home for one of his workmen provided he would quit using beer and tobacco and pay him the money thus saved year by year until the house was free of debt.

In association with two other men, Shantz built a three-story windmill near the corner of Church and Albert streets. Particular excellence was claimed for the flour from this mill,[9] although the mill proved to be a losing business venture.

It was Shantz who originally urged the town council to organize a farmer's market. The town voted against the proposition as there was not sufficient money in the treasury for such a project. Shantz, however, offered to erect a building and wait for his money. Eventually the town council agreed to build a one-story town hall but he prevailed upon them to build a two-story structure. After the building was completed, the basement floor was used as a public market, the first floor contained the Post Office, the Council Chamber, and the Public Library, while the second floor was used as a convention hall for large gatherings. As the contractor he received $3818 for the building. Shantz's proposals for the management of the farmer's market were adopted and followed for almost sixty years. His son stated that "many citizens claimed that this market was an important factor in the substantial and rapid development of the city."[10]

[7] This quotation is taken from an unpublished manuscript on the life of Jacob Y. Shantz written by his son, Moses B. Shantz. The document is deposited in the Waterloo Historical Society Library, Kitchener, Ontario. My article borrows heavily from the Moses B. Shantz account.

[8] *Hannes Schneider*, 216-228. J. W. Conner is here quoted in "Berlin of Yesterday," *News Record* of 1906.

[9] *Hannes Schneider*. "Reminiscences of Berlin" by Jacob Stroh, 246-A.

[10] Quoted from the Moses B. Shantz biography, Chapter 8, 3.

Shantz also promoted industries in Berlin. He assisted in the starting of a felt boot and shoe factory and a foundry. His chief industrial venture, however, was the ivory button industry. A young German, Emil Vogelsang, who had learned the craft of making buttons from ivory nuts, came to Berlin in 1867. With the backing of H. S. Huber, he founded The Pioneer Button Works.

> Before long Mr. Vogelsang needed a factory of his own. He interested J. J. Woelfle in the enterprise and they awarded Jacob Y. Shantz a contract to erect a $20,000 building on the northeast corner of King and College streets. Before it was up Mr. Woelfle withdrew. Mr. Shantz then purchased an interest in the button works for a sum equal to the price of the building and entered into a 7-year agreement with Mr. Vogelsang. When that term expired Mr. Vogelsang retired and built another button factory in South Queen Street . . . .[11]

Mr. Shantz had not had practical experience in the manufacture of buttons, but in spite of costly experiments kept the factory going so that employment could be furnished to citizens of Berlin. His son, Moses B. Shantz, wrote,

> Finally it was decided to make some changes in the organization, borrow another five thousand dollars to put into extra raw material and give it another chance for a year, which was the tenth year since it was started. This extra capital was a large factor in making it a success, and in less than a decade it became the recognized leader in the industry (not the largest) but for making the finest goods of its kind in the world.[12]

The *Berliner Journal* in its issue of September 9, 1880, declared that Jacob Y. Shantz and sons were employing 142 persons in their Dominion Button Works. In later years, Shantz looked back with much satisfaction upon his contribution in helping establish the button industry in Berlin because it had given steady employment to many of the citizens of the community, enabling them in many instances to purchase their own homes.

Shantz contributed to the welfare of the community in other ways also. When Berlin began its first year as an incorporated village in 1854, Shantz was on its first board of school trustees. He remained a member of the Board for the next twenty-seven years.[13] In 1882, Shantz was chosen unanimously by the citizens of the town to be their mayor for that year. "The soliciting citizens

[11] *Hannes Schneider,* 290, quoting from W. V. Uttley's History of Kitchener, Ontario, 1937.

[12] Moses B. Shantz, Chapter 9, 2.

[13] *Hannes Schneider,* p. 213, quoting "School History, Waterloo County and Berlin," by Thomas Pearce. The Moses B. Shantz biography, however, speaks of him serving for thirty-five years successively.

assured him that they wished to see him mayor, if only for a brief period, and then, if he preferred, he should feel at liberty to resign."[14] A few days later on January 26 he resigned the office, having been mayor for only four days.

The varied agricultural and business experiences of Jacob Y. Shantz gave him valuable training for what was to be his most important contribution to Canada. Dr. Ernst Correll in writing on "Mennonite Immigration into Manitoba" ably summarized Shantz's contribution in these words:

> "Foremost, from the very beginning was Jacob Yost Shantz (1822-1909). Without his energetic devotion, the Manitoba settlement of ever growing numbers of families and congregations of Mennonites could not have progressed as it did."[15]

During 1872 the Canadian government carried on negotiations with Mennonite authorities concerning their proposed migration to America. William Hespeler, an Ontario German, acting as a special Immigration Agent for the Canadian government, was sent to South Russia after which he reported important news on prospective Mennonite emigration, including rumors of proposed trips of Russian Mennonite representatives to America. The Canadian government hearing of Russian Mennonite visitors in the States attempted to locate them. It is at this point that Jacob Y. Shantz first entered the unfolding drama. The government in October, 1872, requested John Shantz to come to Ottawa to confer on Mennonite immigration. John Shantz was unable to go to Ottawa and suggested that Jacob Y. Shantz be invited. A few days later Jacob Y. telegraphed Ottawa that he had located the Russian delegate (Bernhard Warkentin) in Elkhart, Indiana, and that he would be in Ottawa with the delegate shortly.[16] The result of these contacts with the government was a trip of investigation to Manitoba by Jacob Y. Shantz and Bernhard Warkentin. In early November, 1872, they left on their journey, going by way of Minnesota and

[14] H. W. Bowman in *Twelfth Annual Report,* 91.

[15] Ernst Correll, "Mennonite Immigration into Manitoba, Sources and Documents, 1872, 1873," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* July and October, 1937. Dr. Correll's articles in the *Review* are the sources for much of the material that follows.

[16] Moses B. Shantz in his father's biography states that P. E. W. Meyer, editor of the *Daily News* of Berlin, had written to the government at Ottawa suggesting that Mennonites be induced to settle the Northwest Territory. "A favorable reply was received inquiring whether he could suggest a man suitable for such an undertaking. Mr. Meyer suggested J. Y. Shantz as a man of proper experience and reliability for such a purpose. Thus it came about that J. Y. Shantz was invited to come to Ottawa for a conference." Could it have been that the Canadian government, in view of the above statement, had mistakenly sent a telegram to John Shantz instead of to Jacob Y. Shantz?

Dakota, and arriving in Winnipeg on November 19. The men spent more than two weeks investigating the Manitoba land. In a letter to the Minister of Agriculture, dated February 28, 1873, Shantz wrote, "I herewith enclose to you a brief narrative of my journey to Manitoba, and my opinions respecting that Province. The readers of this Report may rest assured that it contains a true and impartial statement of what I saw and learned there." *The Narrative of a Journey to Manitoba,* by J. Y. Shantz, published by the Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, became a history-making pamphlet. Dr. Correll states that the Shantz *Narrative* "was reproduced in all sorts of editions running to several hundreds of thousands" and it even appeared in French. In August, 1873, the Department of Agriculture inquired if he wished to make any changes in the *Narrative* in the light of his most recent trip to Manitoba when he had escorted a Russian Mennonite delegation to that province. He replied that he could scarcely add anything "worth while mentioning."

The *Narrative* recounted the trip to Manitoba, described Winnipeg and other settlements, listed five inducements in favor of Manitoba, discussed cost of transportation, the Indians, the climate, stock raising, and fruit culture, and gave information to prospective settlers on the amount of capital required, and advice to those emigrating from Europe. Shantz's narrative required nineteen pages. The remaining twelve pages of the pamphlet gave the Dominion Lands Act, additional information concerning Manitoba, and several testimonials. "There was hardly an official or semi-official publication on Manitoba colonization prospects which did not from that time on over a long period carry at least a major portion of the original *Narrative,*" states Correll.[17]

During the next thirty-five years, Shantz made many trips to Manitoba. Dr. H. M. Bowman stated that "Mr. Shantz made twenty-seven journeys to Manitoba, the last time in his 85th year."[18] The Kitchener daily paper on the day of his death, October 28, 1909, also credited him with the same number. The second journey was made in June and July, 1873. A deputation of Mennonites from Russia and Prussia sent to America to investigate settlement possibilities left Fargo, Dakota, on June 12 to investigate the possibilities of Manitoba. Included in the group of seventeen were

[17] *Review,* July, 1937, p. 207. Correll quotes the official correspondence between Shantz and the Canadian Department of Agriculture concerning this trip of investigation and the *Narrative.*

[18] Bowman in *Twelfth Annual Report,* 93.

American representatives, among whom was Jacob Y. Shantz, who a few days earlier had arrived at Fargo. Part of the delegation left Manitoba after a few weeks of investigation but Shantz with two of his European traveling companions did not rejoin the group at Fargo until July 5. At that time the group again divided but on July 26 Shantz and two of his companions met J. F. Funk, a member of the delegation, in Chicago and accompanied him to his home in Elkhart, Indiana. A few days later, Shantz returned to his home in Ontario.[19] Although he had several buildings under construction at this time, as well as his regular business to supervise, he gave many weeks to this work of helping select a home for his Russian brethren.

In the June, 1874, issue of the *Herald of Truth,* a Mennonite paper published by J. F. Funk in Elkhart, Indiana, it was stated that Shantz expected to use 70,000 feet of lumber to build four emigrant houses in Manitoba, each 20 feet by 100 feet, to provide for 450 families. The August issue reported that he had purchased the lumber in Minnesota, had arrived in Manitoba in June, and was waiting for the lumber to arrive. He had also brought with him from Minnesota a span of horses, a wagon, and a plow. "We have a tent and expect to camp on the land, and plow some and procure wood and water till the lumber comes," he added.

Back in Berlin, Ontario, in August he reported that during July, 1121 immigrants had arrived in Ontario on their way to Manitoba. The Ontario Mennonites had supplied them with provisions for the rest of the journey. They traveled by way of Toronto, Collingwood, Duluth, Mooreland, and then down the Red River to their emigrant houses in Manitoba on the east side of the river, about thirty miles from Winnipeg.[20] The November *Herald of Truth* reported that the 1400 Russian brethren were well satisfied in Manitoba and had spent their time in digging wells, cutting timber, and preparing themselves for the winter.

In May, 1875, Shantz accompanied twenty-five immigrant families to St. Paul, where he bought supplies for them. He had also visited South Bend, Indiana, to buy wagons for them.[21] Whether he went on to Manitoba on this trip or accompanied a later group is not certain. In the October *Herald,* however, he reported that he was on his way home from Ontario.

In 1874, 230 families had located in the Rat River settlement and thirty in the Scratching River area, both east of the Red River.

[19] *Herald of Truth,* August, 1873, 138-140, and in the succeeding monthly issues; also September, 1873, 152.

[20] *Herald of Truth,* September, 1874, 153.

The 516 families that came in 1875, he reported, settled in two regions. One part, 209 families, settled in the Rat River region, while the remainder, 307 families, settled southwest of the earlier settlement, west of the Red River. About 77 families had remained behind in Ontario. His detailed report covering their settlement and their needs shows how well he informed himself on every aspect of the life of the Manitoba colonies.[22]

Late in 1876 he again sent an informative letter to the *Herald,* although he did not state whether he had visited the colony that season; the reader would assume that it was a firsthand report.[23] His next trip reported was made in September, 1877, when in company with his wife and Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Reeser, he arrived in the Red River settlement on September 19. On the east side of the river there were now 38 villages and 700 families, and in the Pembina Settlement, west of the river, there were 25 villages and 485 families. The statistics on crop production proved that his faith in the possibilities of Manitoba had been justified.[24] He did not visit or report on the Scratching River settlement.

[21] *Herald of Truth,* June, 1875, 88.

[22] *Herald of Truth,* October, 1875, 169.

[23] *Herald of Truth,* January, 1877, 9.

[24] *Herald of Truth,* December, 1877, 193. J. J. Hildebrand in his *Chronologische Zeittafel* (Winnipeg, Man., 1945), 239, insinuates that the Canadian government, Jacob Y. Shantz, and William Hespeler in an unfair and secretive manner led the delegation of European Mennonites to select land for settlement in the East Reserve part of which later turned out to be stony and inferior. To this charge, Dr. E. K. Francis, an authority on Manitoba Mennonite history, replies (Personal letter to the writer, April 21, 1950), "In 1873-74 no one would have suspected that settlements could be made in the swamps of the open prairies of Manitoba. I have made this perfectly clear in my book [to be published soon under the title *In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites of Manitoba*] and can give you only the gist of my argument. The goal of all of the first settlers was the wooded parts of the country where there was timber and fresh water. Shantz and the Russian delegates were shown other parts which they did not like; so they accepted the parcel which was originally set aside for them. Nobody could know definitely at that time how valuable one piece of land would prove to be in comparison to another since all land was covered with high grass and shrubs. It seemed to be fertile enough and was so in reality. Nobody foresaw the fluctuations in temperature and precipitation since nobody could have predicted the future and nobody foresaw the problems of the grasshoppers, droughts, and floods. They did know, however, that there was an element of gambling in taking the land and that there were certain tremendous odds, but here was a piece of land under their feet obtainable under conditions they were willing to accept. These conditions were their main concern, and not to get a good bargain. Otherwise they would have gone to the United States as the others did.

"In fact it was Shantz who made arrangements with the government that this land could be later on exchanged for another parcel somewhere else if experience should show that the East Reserve was unsuitable and something better could be found. [See C. H. Smith, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites,* Berne, 1927, pp. 67-69.] It was he who in the following year undertook an exploratory expedition into the forbidding wastes of the other side of the Red River, together with some immigrant scouts. It was he and his companions who discovered the later West Reserve and realized its great possibilities. And it was he who helped stake out the claim and got the West Reserve confirmed even before it was surveyed. It was contrary to practice to offer unsurveyed land for sale and so the Canadian government could not have offered this better land to these first Mennonite inspectors. As it could not confer title to unsurveyed land, the

His last reported trip in the *Herald* was the one of October, 1879.[25] Again he was pleased with the economic progress he witnessed. In a few orchards, "a few apples ripened, on trees that I sent up there three years ago." (Several years later, however, he became convinced that Manitoba was not suited to fruit raising.) In the August *Herald* he had stated that "To this time there have gone to Manitoba, 1,325 families—7,383 souls of whom 23 families settled in northern Dakota." Some of these 23 were, however, moving back to Manitoba.

To state that Shantz made twenty-seven journeys to Manitoba on behalf of the Mennonite immigrants and that he kept himself well informed on the history and progress of the settlements only hints at his masterful leadership during those years. From the time of the first investigation trip, Shantz devoted much time to the Mennonite migration. He established a personal credit of one hundred thousand dollars at a local bank for his button industry and other enterprises. "A large part of this credit he frequently used, in case of emergency, for the development of the Northwest, and also when private contributions and Government funds, together, were not sufficient or available for the immediate needs of so large an immigration," wrote his son, Moses B. Shantz.

To keep down the cost of transportation of the immigrants, Shantz made a number of trips to New York and Montreal in order to obtain the most advantageous terms. By arranging to have the immigrants travel in large groups, and by guaranteeing the collection of fares, Shantz was able to obtain very low rates for their passage, wrote his son who was stationed at Toronto to meet the immigrant trains and to make an accounting with their leaders for their entire fare from Hamburg to Manitoba. The largest single amount thus collected from any one group was more than ten thousand dollars. These sums were deposited in the Berlin bank awaiting final settlement with the transportation companies.

It was a gigantic task to make the careful preparations necessary to keep the immigrants from suffering. On returning from one

first Mennonite settlers in the West Reserve were squatters, with the indulgence of the authorities who did everything to please the Mennonites. It was Shantz who made settlement in the superior West Reserve possible, although most of the early settlers preferred to stay in the East Reserve rather than to move across the river, which they easily could have done. Although pioneering in the East Reserve was difficult enough, settling in the West Reserve was even more hazardous. Only with the change to commercial and single crop (wheat) farming did the East Reserve come to be marginal land. For the moderate family homestead and self-sufficient farming, it was good enough. The forests brought in additional income in the early days and there was an abundance of good pasture. The East Reserve was, therefore, not a mistake at all."

[25] *Herald of Truth,* December, 1879, 232.

of his early trips to the west, he learned that the government planned to send one party of Mennonites to Manitoba by way of the Dawson Route from Port Arthur to Winnipeg. As this route was suitable only for hunters and trappers, Shantz protested and finally an order came from Ottawa, "Do as you see fit." It was always a source of satisfaction to Shantz to know that on this occasion he was instrumental in forestalling a possibly disastrous trip.

Many of his friends were displeased that he should devote his energies to what seemed to them to be a foolhardy enterprise. They blamed him for writing a report that very likely would be instrumental in sending thousands into the Northwest. Said a friend to Shantz's son, "Those people will get up there by the thousands and probably will either starve or freeze to death and your father will be responsible." He replied that his father was in Manitoba at that time to see that such calamities would be averted. When Shantz was told of this conversation after having come back from a several months' stay in Manitoba he remarked in effect, "It is not altogether pleasant to have people say or think that, when one makes such sacrifices for his country and the welfare of other people. I hope such a calamity will never occur but if it should, I doubt if I would be responsible. I am responsible for telling the facts to the best of my knowledge and ability. My belief, however, is that regardless of what people say, the great country Manitoba and the Northwest will some day be the greatest grain country in the world."

As he traveled about, he placed orders for implements and supplies where he could obtain the best terms. On one occasion he carried as much as $5,000 with him in a leather satchel although usually he used drafts. At one time he placed a $6,000 order for plows with the Oliver Company and on another occasion a $12,000 order for wagons with the Studebaker Wagon Company. A $26,000 order for provisions was paid by his personal draft on the J. Y. Shantz and Sons, Button Manufacturers, as were the other accounts named above. These were charged to his personal account. The implements and supplies were placed in charge of group leaders who distributed them to the members of their villages. Shantz arranged a plan of payment that postponed the first payments for several years. It should be added that the banks co-operated in making this credit available through Mr. Shantz, which proved both their confidence in him and their faith in Manitoba.

When the Canadian government in 1875 extended a loan of $100,000 to settle poor Russian Mennonite immigrants on government land grants in Manitoba, a loan which was guaranteed by the Ontario Mennonites, Jacob Y. Shantz was placed in charge of applying the money toward establishing them in their new homes. The government informed its immigration agent J. E. Klotz in Hamburg on April 29, 1875,

> I am authorized to inform you . . . Mr. J. Y. Shantz is recognized by the Department as being duly authorized to furnish you from time to time with directions as to the aid to be given to Mennonite Immigrants out of the loan afforded by the Government to that Society.[26]

"Society" here refers to the Mennonites of Ontario, among whom were certain members who signed the government bonds thus guaranteeing the loan. The government referred to the committee with which it negotiated concerning the loan as the Committee of Management of Mennonites in Ontario. Besides acting as the agent of the government and of this committee which guaranteed the loan, Shantz as treasurer of the "Aid Committee of Ontario," described below, also received loans from Mennonites for the purpose of assisting the settlement of their Russian brethren.

In April, 1886, the Select Standing Commitee on Immigration and Colonization interviewed Jacob Y. Shantz on the Mennonite immigration. The report of this interview takes up more than fifteen pages in the Appendix of the 1886 Canada *Journals of the House of Commons*. Here Shantz gave a remarkable summary of the economic progress of the settlements, as he answered the more than 200 questions asked of him by members of the committee. Practically half of the Mennonite settlers in Manitoba had received loans through the committee represented by Shantz, he revealed in answer to his questioners.[27] He also verified the fact that the Canadian government had loaned to the Mennonites a total of $96,400, of which amount between $65,000 and $70,000 had been repaid by April, 1886.

Shantz lived to see the day when all of these loans were repaid. The money he had borrowed from the bank was repaid. Money borrowed from Mennonites in Canada was repaid, with the exception of those loans for which the lenders declined to accept payment. And the entire loan was repaid to the government. "On the twenty-

[26] A letter in the J. E. Klotz collection, Waterloo Historical Library, Kitchener, Ontario.

[27] This important report should be read by anyone who wishes to obtain a picture of the economical progress of the Manitoba settlement.

seventh and last journey he made to the Northwest in his eighty-fifth year, he completed the final settlement of his accounts with those who regarded him as their benefactor," wrote Moses B. Shantz. The government in grateful appreciation to Mr. Shantz for having collected the entire amount with interest then gave him a draft of $4000 for his services.[28]

In his later years he became interested in the undeveloped lands west of Manitoba and was active in promoting settlements in Alberta. In 1950 his grandson wrote,

> In 1893 Mr. Shantz again scouted farther west into Alberta and decided the district known as Didsbury to be a most practical mixed farming location and immediately took steps to negotiate a deal with the Department of Lands . The Department offered him a quarter section of land if he built an immigrant shelter, including a well and stable. The said contract was finished before he left the district. Most of the quarter section was subdivided into smaller plots and lots. Among his subdivisions was a cemetery, which he donated to the district and town to be. The immigrant building, 20 by 100 feet, was a single story frame enclosure and served a very useful purpose for many years.
>
> In the following April, 1894, Mr. Shantz organized a group of settlers among which were several of his own sons, daughters, and grandchildren. A special slab-seat colonist car was chartered and thirty-four prospective settlers boarded the same, en route for Didsbury . . . . The reactions to this event were none too favorable toward Mr. Shantz, in many instances, as he was blamed and criticized for taking some of the best citizens into that God-forsaken country designed for buffaloes and Indians. Others again and again questioned the wisdom of the move. To Mr. Shantz, however, there was only one answer. His faith in a future land with rich, black soil, with grass knee-high, with timber, with coal, with water power, . . . plus man's will and muscle and his trust in God could result only in this region becoming a world factor in agriculture and industry . . . . His vision has been more than upheld and realized today . . . . I could give you many items of interest that have transpired since 1894 which have fallen in line with his optimistic foresight and faith. I had several talks with him before he left for the east in 1894. One of the wishes that he expressed at that time was that he might be young again and help develop the potential wealth of this western country.[29]

The "Aid Committee of Ontario" was evidently organized in August, 1873. Leonhard Sudermann and Andreas Schrag, members of the investigating committee from Russia, had presented the needs of the Mennonites in Russia to their brethren in Ontario and then had left for Pennsylvania on August 8. Shantz reported in the January, 1874, *Herald of Truth,*

[28] For a more complete discussion of the Mennonite Loan, see the *Review,* October, 1946, Ernst Correll, "The Mennonite Loan in the Canadian Parliament, 1875."

[29] Letter from M. Weber to Melvin Gingerich, April 24, 1950, in Mennonite Church Archives, Goshen, Indiana.

At the time when the brethren Schraag and Suderman started for Pennsylvania, we published among the brotherhood that they had petitioned for aid, and the brethren met together at the several meeting houses and subscribed what they wished to do so that Schraag could take the report with him, and the brethren in Russia might know what they could depend on. The reports of these subscriptions thus sent to me amount to seven thousand, four hundred and eighty-eight dollars ($7488). Of the above amount the Amish brethren raised nine hundred and nine dollars ($909).

This report does not include the subscriptions of two churches, and I am informed that these have also subscribed about two thousand dollars ($2000).

True to his humble spirit, Shantz did not report that he had been appointed secretary-treasurer of the organization and that he was the executive of the committee. The other members were Elias Schneider, John Gascho, Samuel Reesor, and John Koch.

In the months that followed, Shantz often appealed to the Canadian Mennonites for funds to help the Russian immigrants. In these pleas he gave information on the number coming to America and the transportation cost and then reminded the *Herald* readers, for instance, that

"Taking also into consideration that when here they must have houses, and provision for one and a half years, before they can raise their own food, we feel that it is very important that when we tell them to come, we also help them to what they, out of necessity, must have."[30]

That their needs deeply concerned him one can easily sense in any of his reports on the settlement. In August, 1874, he wrote,

Brethren, let us lay to heart the position or the necessity in which they find themselves, and with what blessings and abundance we have been blest. A little from our abundance would very much lighten their necessities. Remember, they ask the money only as a loan, and think that if they can obtain the above named sum they would soon be enabled to commence farming operations and in a short time refund the money.

Although a number of financial reports of the "Aid Committee of Ontario" were printed, a final detailed report is not given in the church paper. Correll, however, states,

The Ottawa archives furnish in the Department of Agriculture Papers not only precise details on the utilization of the loan but similar clear records could be collected from Department of Justice, Receiver General, and other Papers, showing over more than one and a half decades the mortgaging and debt services which in their smooth functioning won popular praise for the 'Mennonite Society of Ontario' and for the ultimate debtors and beneficiaries in the townships developing in frontier Manitoba.[31]

[30] *Herald of Truth,* February, 1874, 41.
[31] Correll in the *Review,* July, 1937, 208.

Shantz's report in the January, 1877, *Herald,* however, shows the large amount of money that had passed through his office. In 1874 the Mennonites of Ontario loaned their brethren from Russia in round numbers $23,000 and in 1875, $5,000. In addition in 1875 the Canadian government loaned the Mennonite immigrants $65,000 secured by the bonds of Ontario Mennonites. This was a total loan of $93,000. From this and other reports, it is evident that the committee received at least $2,100 in outright gifts.

Not only did Shantz serve as an intermediary between the Ontario Mennonites and the immigrants settling in Manitoba, but, as was explained earlier, he also was an agent for the government in its dealings with the Mennonite immigrants. From the time of the first exchange of telegraphs between Shantz and the Canadian government, in October, 1872, until the loan account was closed some thirty years later, Shantz exchanged many letters and telegrams with government officials. "In the files of the Canadian government agencies are found, written in a characteristic hand, a large number of, usually brief, communications by him (Shantz)," states Correll.[82]

A summary of the correspondence concerning Shantz's inspection trip to Manitoba in 1872 and the resulting *Narrative,* referred to above, has been given by Dr. Correll in the July and October, 1937, and the January, 1948, issues of the REVIEW.

Just as his reports to the Minister of Agriculture on November 28, 1872, and his *Narrative* written later on his 1872 trip to Manitoba were concise, factual, and optimistic, so was his report of July 11, 1873, to the Minister of Agriculture concerning his June, 1873, inspection trip in Manitoba.[83]

Perhaps no government order shows more clearly the confidence its officials placed in Shantz than the letter sent J. E. Klotz in Hamburg, Canadian immigration agent, by John Lowe, Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, on April 29, 1875. The letter stated,

"Sir,

"I am authorized to inform you of the following points of agreement and understanding between the Department and the Mennonite Society of Ontario.

[82] *Ibid., 202.*

[83] Copy in E. H. Correll Collection, Mennonite Church Archives, Goshen, Indiana. This collection contains several other Shantz letters which have not been published.

"1. Mr. J. Y. Shantz is recognized by the Department as being duly authorized to furnish you from time to time with directions as to the aid to be given to Mennonite immigrants out of the loan afforded by the Government to that Society.

"2. You, as agent of this Department, are authorized to act in this matter under the directions of Mr. Shantz.

"3. The Mennonite Society have accepted a bond from your father Mr. Otto Klotz for the proper administration of the aid you are commissioned to afford to indigent Mennonites under the authority of the Departmental letter of 30th March last.

"4. You will account to Mr. Shantz for all orders for aid you may grant.

"5. You are authorized to send the Mennonites who are brought out by the Society under the loan referred to, either by the Dominion, the Allan or any other line sailing direct to Canada, which Mr. Shantz may direct.

I have the honour to be
Sir
Your obedient servant
John Lowe
Secretary Dept. of Agriculture"[34]

A rich agricultural and business experience, a deep interest in the welfare of his fellow men, a lasting faith in the economic possibilities of western Canada, a spirit of adventure, and a character marked by integrity and the desire to serve combined to give Shantz an opportunity of leadership rarely surpassed in North American Mennonite history. Back of these factors was a deep faith in God and a desire to do His will. His son stated that Shantz "believed the Bible to be God's greatest gift to man, and the revelation of His will concerning us."[35] He memorized many important Bible passages, which were "a great help to him all through his active career and a consolation in his later years."

A letter from a friend to the bereaved family at the time of the death of Shantz declared that he had been converted at the age of twelve, had joined the church at an early age and had always taken an active part in religious work and reforms. Working with a Baptist minister he helped organize the first Sunday school in the county and was the first Sunday-school teacher in the county according to this letter reproduced in Moses B. Shantz's biography of his father.

During his early years and at the beginning of the immigration work, Shantz was a member of the Mennonite Church of Kitchener. The old church, however, was slow to change its ways and lost many of its young people during the time of Shantz's youth and early manhood. Finally in the seventies the more progressive minded Mennonites in Ontario left the old church to form the "New Mennon-

[34] In Klotz Collection, Waterloo Historical Society Library, Kitchener, Ontario.
[35] Moses B. Shantz biography, Part Five, Ch. 31, 4.

ites," as they were unofficially called. Jacob Y. Shantz became a member of this group in 1875,[36] at first known as United Mennonites and later as Mennonite Brethren in Christ. He was one of the nineteen conference members attending the June, 1879, First General Conference of the United Mennonites meeting at Blair, Ontario. At this conference he was chosen as one of three Canadian representatives on a printing establishment committee. The publications of his church long remained one of his chief interests.

For eighteen years, he served on the Managing Committee of the Gospel Banner, the organ of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ, a position which he held from the time the paper was launched in July, 1878, to the date of the conference in Oct., 1896. When the Ontario Conference of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church organized the Foreign and Heathen Missionary Society in 1881, Shantz was appointed its first secretary-treasurer, a position which he held for eight years and perhaps longer. In the December 15, 1887, issue he wrote a Christmas letter to the readers, in which he testified, "Is there great joy in your heart, received by faith in the blood of Christ? Have you experienced forgiveness of your sins? If so, then you may well have a Merry-Christmas."

C. N. Good of Kitchener, Ontario, who knew Shantz well, in a letter of July 7, 1949, declared that Shantz was a member of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church until death. His son, Moses, also stated in his biographical account of his father that Shantz was "to the end of his life . . . a loyal member and worker in the Mennonite Church (in the division generally regarded the most progressive) and—aside from some minor non-essential tradition—was in full accord with its general great principles of Peace and Good Will." For a time, however, he displayed considerable interest in Christian Science, being influenced, no doubt, by a Christian Science woman who roomed in his home. A good friend of his in later years conjectured that Shantz did not see clearly the issues at stake and that his attitude on this question remained a mystery. Another acquaintance suggested that this interest may be explained by the fact that Shantz was always receptive to new ideas and was in spirit a pioneer and adventurer. Suffice it to say, however, that his friends and acquaintances were greatly disturbed to see him show so much interest in Christian Science.

[36] Letter from Everek R. Storms, Kitchener, Ontario, May 9, 1950, in which he refers to the record book of the Evangelical United Mennonites.

Shantz was much interested in the cause of temperance. Very soon after he took charge of his father's farm he with several of his neighbors decided that they would not follow the general custom of treating their farm hands with whisky. Although others predicted that this would prevent Shantz from obtaining the necessary number of desirable farm hands, he never had any difficulty in getting the best help obtainable. Other farmers soon followed the example of these few daring pioneers.

As a temperance worker, he scheduled temperance meetings in the city hall. It was said that on one occasion someone threatened his life because of his temperance activities, but he went on with his program undisturbed, and the citizens respected him for his position. E. S. Hallman of Tuleta, Texas, writing in 1948, remembered that the bartenders reacted against these lectures.

That Shantz, however, appreciated the right type of amusement is proved by the part the Shantz dam played in the recreational life of the community. A newspaper clipping, without a date, contained an article by J. P. Jaffray on "Shantz's Dam Popular Outdoor Rendezvous." The article related,

> Jacob Y. Shantz practically handed over the dam, the creek, and the adjoining pasture land to the public, to be used by the juvenile section as seemed fitting.
>
> Thus it came to pass that in summer the creek furnished several swimming holes and good fishing. . . .
>
> In winter the dam furnished a sheet of ice nearly three quarters of a mile wide, broken by patches of marsh grass where skates were put on, often before cheering fires to which the generous owner offered no objection . . . .
>
> But sports or no sports; with or without shinny sticks and a visit without guns; the boys who had journeyed to Shantz' Dam knew that Jacob Y., the kindly, pleasant-voice owner, would regard all their antics sympathetically.[37]

His home, too, was the center of social activity. When the Cornelius Jansen family arrived from Russia, they first went to Berlin where the family made its home while the father and the oldest son Peter went on land exploring trips. From August, 1873, until June 11, 1874, the Jansen family lived in the frame house back of the Shantz brick house. One of the Jansen daughters, Margaret, kept a faithful record in her diary from October to June, relating the activities of the Shantz and Jansen families.[38] Birthday, Christmas, and Easter celebrations were enjoyed together by the two families. Often they would gather in one home or the other to engage in singing, as on April 26. "The Schanz girls and cousins

[37] Hannes Schneider, 258.

[38] This diary is in the possession of a niece, Mrs. Anna Linscheid, North Newton, Kansas.

came over in the afternoon, and later we all went to the Schanzes to sing."

Knowing that the Mennonites were leaving Russia to escape compulsory military service, Shantz was naturally sympathetic with their position. An incident adds light to his position on nonresistance. One time he was asked whether he was not afraid to travel among the half-breeds of western Canada without any weapons of self-defense. His son reported that the father gave this answer: "No. Therein lies my safety; their knowledge that my purpose is a good one, and having no weapons, they become my protectors, and I eat and sleep with them without fear of being molested."

During the days of the American Civil War when it appeared that England and Canada might become involved in the conflict, Mennonites of Waterloo County, Ontario, addressed a petition to their representatives in Parliament, calling their attention to provisions the British government had made for those who had conscientious objections against bearing arms. In a four-page letter of 1865 these Mennonites stated clearly their position upholding New Testament nonresistance. Among the seven signers of the letter appeared the name of Jacob Y. Shantz.[39]

Shantz was an impressive figure. Six feet tall, with an erect carriage and massive frame, there was no spare flesh on his body. His voice had a deep, organ-like note that people would not forget. A photograph of Shantz in the prime of life shows him with a beard and mustache. A friend said of him, "Mr. Shantz has been like the primeval white pine of the market square, deeply rooted, strong of character foundation, 120 feet solid clear timber, full of sap and vigor; very few knots, in fact the clean stuff." More than one record speaks of him as a quiet, unassuming man, who never sought office or honors. But many honors came to him, including many words of praise in the local press on the occasions of his eighty-fourth and again his eighty-seventh birthday.

On October 28, 1909, the Berlin paper reported,

> Berlin mourns today the death of Jacob Yost Shantz, its oldest native born citizen and a real nature's nobleman—an honest, God-fearing, successful man. The end came peacefully at three o'clock this morning at his home, 105 Queen Street north. He was as well as usual to within an hour of his death . . . . He was conscious to within a few moments of the end.

He was buried in the East End Mennonite Cemetery of Berlin.

Shantz was married three times, in 1843 to Barbara Biehn, in 1853 to Nancy Brubacher, and in 1871 to Sarah Shuh. Two sons and three daughters were born to the first marriage, and three sons and four daughters to the second.

[39] A copy of this letter is deposited in the Archives of the Mennonite Church, Goshen, Indiana.

SOME LETTERS OF BERNHARD WARKENTIN PERTAINING TO THE MIGRATION OF 1873-1875

EDITED BY CORNELIUS KRAHN

Introduction

No other Mennonite pioneer of the prairie states has become as well known as Bernhard Warkentin. There is hardly a book or an article on the agriculture and milling industry in Kansas that does not refer to him or give him credit for the introduction of the hard winter wheat to Kansas.[1] And yet thus far we have no thorough study of his life, his activities, and contributions based on all available sources. Fortunately, many of the documents pertaining to his life and activities have been preserved and have found their way into the Bethel College Historical Library where they are awaiting the day when a biographer will make use of them.

The materials pertaining to Warkentin can be divided into (1) those dealing with his early youth, training, coming to America, and activities pertaining to the Mennonite migration to the prairie states and provinces; and (2) those dealing with the introduction and the development of the hard winter wheat and the milling industry in Kansas. For the latter phase of his activities his correspondence with Mark Carleton, a U.S. Department of Agriculture representative, referred to by Paul de Kruif as "The Wheat Dreamer,"[2] is significant. It is to be expected that this correspondence will shed some new light on the part Warkentin played in this drama.

In our discussion and presentation of the Warkentin correspondence we will limit ourselves to the crucial year of 1873. The previous year Warkentin had come to America as a tourist who soon turned into a reporter writing about conditions in the prairie states and provinces. In this role he aided with information the coming of some eighteen thousand Mennonites from Russia to North America. Traveling through the prairie states and provinces he made keen observations and established important contacts about which he reported to his parents, friends, and fellow believers. The letters to his parents written at this time must be considered lost. Among his friends, the most outstanding was David Goerz. A great number of the letters to him as well as Goerz' answers have

[1] Frank W. Blackmar, editor, *Kansas* (Chicago), 4 volumes. W. E. Connelley, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans* (Chicago, 1918), 5 volumes. (References under various subjects)

[2] Paul de Kruif, *Hunger Fighters* (New York, 1928).

been preserved. David Goerz soon followed him to America and brought the letters along. The letters were written in beautiful long hand and perfect German. Only some were selected, from the year 1873, and translated by the Bethel College Historical Library staff to be published here. The numbering is by Warkentin himself.

The correspondence between Bernhard Warkentin and David Goerz was begun in their early teens in 1861 in South Russia. David Goerz was at this time attending the *Vereinsschule* at Ohrloff, Molotschna, a secondary school which originated under the sponsorship of Johann Cornies. Their correspondence continued throughout the years, first in Russia, then while Warkentin traveled in America, and later when both were members of the Mennonite Board of Guardians,[3] which played a very significant role in the settlement of the poorer immigrants.

David Goerz[4] was born in 1849 at Neu Bereslav, near Berdiansk, South Russia. After his elementary and secondary training he became the tutor of the children of Johann Cornies, Jr., on the Taschenack estate. In 1871 he married Helene Riesen. After his arrival in Summerfield, Illinois, in 1873 he taught there until he moved to Halstead in 1875. In 1875, first in Summerfield and then in Halstead he established and edited *Zur Heimath,* operated a bookstore, etc. He was appointed business agent of the Mennonite Board of Guardians in 1873. In Newton he became the founder or chief promoter of the Mennonite Mutual Fire Insurance Company, Bethel College, Bethel Deaconess Home and Hospital, missionary activities, etc. He died in 1914. He, too, has thus far found no biographer to give us a complete picture of his life and activities.

Bernhard Warkentin was born in 1847 in Altonau, Molotschna, South Russia. According to one source[5] he attended the elementary school in Altonau, the secondary school in Halbstadt, and a business school in Odessa. His father was a successful miller. Prior to the departure of his son, Bernhard, to America he was delegated to inquire about possibilities of settlement in Asiatic Russia. However, Bernhard's father did not join the migration to America. Bernhard Warkentin's sister married Johann Philipp Wiebe, a large estate owner and grandson of Johann Cornies.[6]

[3] Christian Krehbiel was president, David Goerz, secretary, John F. Funk, treasurer, and B. Warkentin, business agent.

[4] For a short biography see: *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1931), Vol. VII, 353-54.

[5] W. E. Connelley, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans* (Chicago, 1918), Vol. V, 2291.

[6] Nikolai Regehr, "Johann Philipp Wiebe," *Der Bote* (April 19, 1950), 11.

The correspondence between Warkentin and Goerz suddenly reveals that the former intends to make a trip to America. He was joined by Philipp Wiebe, Vorwerk, and Peter Dick of Brodski. All three young men had well-to-do parents and the undertaking was very likely a pleasure and adventure trip. Both Wiebe and Dick soon returned to Russia and remained there. In the case of Warkentin the end result was different.

It was around 1870 that the Mennonites of Russia became restless for a number of reasons. The threat of a conscription law and the Russianization of the schools were the most pronounced factors. Cornelius Jansen, of Berdiansk, in the neighborhood of the Molotschna settlement, became the chief advocate of a migration to America. It was through contacts with him, no doubt, that the abovementioned three young men inaugurated their plans and carried them out. That Warkentin established his headquarters in the Mennonite church in Summerfield, Illinois, also points in this direction. Cornelius Jansen had contacted Christian Krehbiel, the elder of the congregation, about information on America long before this time. Soon after Warkentin's arrival in Summerfield in 1872, he was attracting land agents who invited him to inspect their lands. Thus, he continually traveled in the prairie states and provinces from Texas to Manitoba investigating possibilities for settlement and interviewing land agents and government officials. As a result, he wrote long letters to Russia, especially to David Goerz, in which he related his findings and made suggestions as to the places most suitable for settlement. David Goerz circulated these letters, even copying them, and reported back to Warkentin the impressions they made and the development of the interest in migration to America. It can easily be understood that Bernhard Warkentin gained self-confidence and rightly considered himself as one who was well informed on matters pertaining to the migration to America. He was therefore somewhat disappointed when the official delegation was appointed without asking him to accompany it. When the delegation arrived, however, he soon found his place in connection with this work and traveled extensively with some of the delegates.

During his trips Bernhard Warkentin gradually began to dismiss Manitoba as one of the possible places for settlement, mostly because of the severe winter. For some time Warkentin was impressed by Minnesota and Dakota; but gradually the South won. First he gave preference to Texas, and finally Kansas became the "chosen land." No doubt Christian Krehbiel's influence in this mat-

ter must be taken into account. In 1874 the major part of the latter's congregation moved with him to settle near Halstead, Kansas. Again these men, in turn, were influenced greatly by the land agents of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad. Thus the state which originally was by-passed, unnoticed by nearly all the delegates, received the bulk of the immigrants seeking a new home. The correspondence of Warkentin which is being reprinted on the following pages reveals the things for which he was looking and found and gives a firsthand impression of his significance in the complex drama of the coming of the Mennonites from Russia and their settlement in the prairie states and provinces.[7]

In 1874 Warkentin settled with the Summerfield Mennonites in Halstead where he established a mill. Later he moved to Newton to establish another mill in Newton, a third one in Blackwell, Oklahoma, and a fourth one in Kansas City, Missouri. But this field of endeavor is another chapter of his life and cannot be treated here. His untimely death came when he was traveling in the Orient in 1908 and a fellow traveler in a neighboring compartment of the train accidentally discharged a pistol. The bullet penetrated the compartment and ended the active life of Bernhard Warkentin.

The Bernhard Warkentin Letters (1873)

Letter No. 250

Summerfield, St. Clair County, Ills.,
January 8, 1873

Dear Friend D. Goerz!

Greetings and best wishes for the new year! This is the wish to you and your dear family from your far-distant friend, to whom the joy is denied this time of celebrating Christmas and New Year with you, beloved, in the distant home country.

* * * * *

Dear friend, I received your letter of November 11, with the inclosure to Mr. Seeger[8], St. Paul, yesterday, in the flourmill which I am studying at present. Naturally I am using up my resources while nothing comes in. I sent your letter to Mr. Seeger this morning already, after I had copied it. I added a few lines, that in case Mr. Seeger wants to correspond with me, he might send the letters directly to me. — I find the explanations you are making to Mr. Seeger in order to inform these people about our real condition, very appropriate.—Neither does it harm to tell these gentlemen what proposals the English Government is making to us, perhaps the

[7] For a recent treatment of various phases of the migration and settlement of the Mennonites from Russia see also: *From the Steppes to the Prairies,* Newton, Kansas, 1949, which contains the diary of Christian Krehbiel, a presentation of the share which John F. Funk and J. Y. Shantz had in this work, and other contributions.

[8] William H. Seeger was the representative of the Minnesota State Land Department.

United States will yet compete with Canada[9].—Nevertheless, it cannot be expected that the United States will make us such liberal proposals because they can hardly do it, unless this is decided upon by Congress at Washington. If a deputation with authority from our people would be here when Congress is in session, which begins [this is a blank in the original] and lasts [another blank] months, so that they can tell Congress definitely how many Mennonites want to migrate, it is maintained by many that favorable proposals would be made. This could be done now already by correspondence, but as long as nothing definite can be presented, the matter will receive no attention[10].

The brethren here and other good friends are emphatic in dissuading from Canada for the simple reason that it is too cold in Manitoba for easy success. For me this is still an open question, for I can assert that one can usually find more prosperity in northern regions than in the South; of course, much depends on the means of communication.—In case Manitoba should really be too cold, and we nevertheless want to remain under the English Government in order to claim the proposals, we would need to cross the Rockies and to go to British Columbia near the Pacific Ocean, where the climate is considerably milder, and people are very well supplied with everything. My attention has frequently been called to the fact that it would be absolutely necessary to see the territories across the Rockies, as well as California, before we decide on any place for settlement in the United States. The deputation will have a hard task, therefore, to find a suitable place in the immense America, where for hundreds or thousands a new happy home is to be established for the uncertain future. Although travelling by train is not troublesome, and fortunately all the long distances may be travelled by train, in the main such territories remain to be investigated where communication is unsatisfactory, and it will eventually be necessary to make trips which will not be without hardships, for which reason strong men should be elected for the deputation, to whom such hardships will be an adventure.

Dear friend, you have asked me in your two last letters to make the trip to Canada and spend the winter there; I hope you and your dear friends have already released me from this duty when you receive this letter, for I have been there, and in my opinion I have learned enough to answer the main questions. When I was in Manitoba with Bro. J. Schantz[11], I asked him if he would advise me to spend the winter there to be able to give correct information about the climate, but he advised me not to do so, for the reason that I would not be able to determine from the observation of one winter that the weather will be such every year, because the winters here as well as up in the North vary, as they do at home in the southern part of Russia; and in addition, I would have found the winter so severe (at least, that is what I think) that I would not care any more for Manitoba, for America has such a cold winter this year as has not been known for many years.—I think I have mentioned in my last letter that we had -29° F. in Manitoba on November 27/15, whereas they had only 5° F.

[9] See the extensive publication of United States and Canadian official documents on the Mennonite immigration from Russia 1871-1880 in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* for July, 1935, July and October, 1937, October, 1946, January, 1947, January, 1948, and in the current issue.

[10] See Leland Harder, "The Russian Mennonites and American Democracy under Grant," in *From the Steppes to the Prairies* (Newton, 1949), 54-67.

[11] On Jacob Y. Shantz (1822-1909), Mennonite layman, of Berlin (now Kitchener), Ontario, see the biography by Melvin Gingerich elsewhere in this issue.

here. Towards the end of December we had a low here of -15° F., with a half foot of snow, which has not been known here for twenty years.—The many and beautiful peach trees as well as the big vineyards are probably totally destroyed by this severe frost.—I have written to an acquaintance in Manitoba for information as to what the lowest degree has been there.—From the newspaper I learned that the minimum temperature there has been -42° or -33°. When I think of it, I shudder, hu! I tell you it was -27½° when I was there, and yet I endured the hardships of travelling in the open prairies, although not in such severe cold, for two weeks, in fact for three weeks, in my little fur coat which I brought along from home, and, besides, I was the only one in our company who had a fur coat, the others had only heavy overcoats and were not suffering more than I. The people here do not generally wear fur coats in this country where furs are plenteous; it is rather a luxury for the rich. . . .

I could not find out definitely when Congress meets and how long it remains in session, but it was told me that it will meet in the fall. In the next letter, definite information. *(Original incomplete.)*

Letter No. 251 Summerfield, St. Clair Co., Ills.
March 3, 1873

Dear Friend D. Goerz:

Your dearly beloved letter of December 13, 1872, with its fateful contents is spread out before me and has been a comfort to my somewhat home-sick heart. In spirit my heart is close to yours, my dear friend, and I can do my mission, which the Lord has placed upon me who am not worthy of it as a weak person in my present situation, with more courage and consideration. Do not think, my dear friend, that I have become merely negligent if my letters begin to come in longer intervals than before. I shall always take pains, as long as you and your people are still in the old country, to inform you as often as possible about everything desirable which I learn to know in my experience and which might be of interest to you. The reason for the long delay of my letter you will learn from the following communication.

Your last letter of November 27, I answered January 29, '73, and I remember that I told you of my visit to St. Louis the day before, where I met an agent from Texas, whom I already knew through Bro. J. F. Funk[12], Elkhart, Ind., by correspondence. That agent, Mr. Lippard, had invited me to make a trip to Texas in order to see the land, but when I wrote the letter to you, I had not decided yet to accept Mr. Lippard's offer, for I was corresponding at that time with Mr. W. Seeger, St. Paul, Minn., who invited me also in the name of the Minnesota government to come to St. Paul, in order to present our matter to the legislature which was in session at that time.—After mature consideration and counsel with my local friends, who want the best for me and us all, I eventually decided to decline the invitation of Mr. Seeger, referring to the deputation which was to be expected in February (for I was instructed that it was to begin its journey immediately after New Year) and accepted the proposition to go to Texas, for the brethren here are very enthusiastic for Texas or the land across the Rockies, north of California, that is, Oregon or Washington; but they do

[12] On John F. Funk (1835-1930), Mennonite minister of Elkhart, Indiana, see the biography by A. C. Kolb in the *MQR* for October, 1932, and the article in this issue by Kempes Schnell, "John F. Funk and the Mennonite Migrations 1873-1885."

not want to have anything to do with Manitoba or Minnesota, for they do not like the climate there and in addition probably the market for the farmers' produce is too far away, and these fears are not without reason. We were accused by our friends here last summer already, when I made the trip into the western states with my three colleagues[13] and Abr. Stauffer as our interpreter that on our return trip from Colorado we did not visit the state of Texas, where cattle and sheep are raised in the same manner as in Russia.

As I said before, I decided to undertake a trip to Texas, but I must confess that I did not do it for adventure or amusement, but in order to save time and money, and with the conviction that this enterprise also was a wise hint of God which later might become valuable to my benevolent brethren who want to make this country their new home. On February 10 I therefore began the trip to Texas in company with a young friend, J. E. Schmitt, a member of the local church here. In St. Louis we met Mr. Lippard, who secured free transportation passes for us to Texas and accompanied us. We left St. Louis that same day and went on the Missouri Pacific Railroad to Sedalia from where we rode on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad through a southern part of Kansas and through the Indian Territory to Texas. In Sherman, an old place (which you, dear friend, will find on a map if you managed to get one already) we were met by the superintendent of the Immigration Bureau, Mr. Loeffler, a German (through Mr. Loeffler's efforts I was also invited to come to Texas); we rode on the Texas Central Railroad down to Houston, where we were only fifty miles from the Gulf of Mexico. . . .

[Here follows a lengthy and glowing description of the Houston region which is omitted.]

In this letter I am not going to give you a special description of my trip to Texas, and I am not going to describe my experiences and ideas further, for with your last letter I received a very interesting dear letter from Uncle L. Sudermann,[14] which I took the liberty to read to the congregation of the local Mennonite Church yesterday, Sunday afternoon, during the mission prayer meeting. In such a way I could best satisfy the dear brethren, who look forward with apprehension to the things which are to come. Some of your letters also, my dear friend, I have given for the benefit of several of my intimate friends. We came back safely and well from our trip to Texas, and I found thirteen letters waiting for me, of which some were from local correspondents, of course. I intend to answer Uncle L. Sudermann's letter immediately after I have finished this one, and will try to describe specifically my experiences in Texas, which lines will be handed to you, I trust. From my last letter, you and your folks probably expected more than you received, at least that I should write more in detail regarding the questions you have asked.—And yet I hope that of my well-meant advice some will be used to your advantage, and also for your dear parents-in-law, and the twenty or twenty-five families who expect to leave Europe the coming May, perhaps a little sooner or later.

I imagine that you will leave Russia without having made any definite arrangements for your transportation across the ocean to New York, neither

[13] Warkentin's friends: Philipp Wiebe, Peter Dick, and Jacob Boehr (the latter was from South Germany).

[14] Leonhard Sudermann (1821-1904?), prominent Russian Mennonite elder, came to America in 1874 to spend the rest of his life in Kansas. He was one of the twelve delegates sent by the Mennonites of South Russia in 1873 to explore colonization possibilities in North America.

with the railroad nor steamship companies (for you have not mentioned it in any of your letters.) Perhaps I am mistaken; at any rate it would pay to concern one's self about it; even if only twenty families would come, I nevertheless believe that you could get nominally reduced rates, but in order to effect this someone should go ahead to Hamburg. However, I do not want to obtrude myself in any case with my advice, for I am convinced that you will have supplied yourself in every direction.

As I have answered your questions to the best of my knowledge in my previous letter, I shall now just repeat; do not bring any unnecessary articles along, see to it that you will not have over four hundred pounds of baggage with your family, for each immigrant has two hundred pounds baggage free, children twelve years old, only one hundred pounds; they pay only half fare.—In Russia and Germany you may have to pay something for the baggage; if I am not mistaken the passenger on the ship is allowed two hundred pounds, in addition to what he has with him as hand baggage, and this should never be more than one absolutely needs and can carry comfortably.—What you ought to bring along you will know best; I would advise you at this time to bring the good featherbeds, the sheepskins, and the clothes which you already have will do no harm, but it would not be advisable to buy many new things.—Bring as much linen as you have, for that is very expensive here,—besides, hardly anyone wears linen, only cotton is used.—Do not bring kitchen utensils or implements of any kind; what you have, sell there, for it is easiest and most convenient to carry the money for those articles in one's pocket, for which everything can be bought here. How you are going to travel from Hamburg or Bremen, either in a cabin $100 per passenger, or in steerage $55 per passenger, is still a question. If you travel in a cabin you need not be concerned about anything after you have booked your baggage, since everything is taken care of, but if you travel in steerage you should provide yourself with bedding and kitchen utensils, for the steerage passenger also receives food, and I think enough, although it is quite plain. I would advise, however, that all who possibly can should spend the extra $45 and travel in a cabin; at any rate, older people and families with little children should do so. And so I would advise you too, as friend, not to travel in steerage, but in a cabin. Those who want to save and leave Hamburg in steerage, despite the fact that they have the means, would often regret on the voyage not to have taken a cabin. Young people could travel in steerage out of consideration for their purse, for in the end it takes only ten to twelve days till they again have firm ground under foot. Well, in this respect everyone can advise himself best, but one should be familiar with the situation so he will not accuse others later for leaving him in ignorance.

After you, my good friend, will have left your old home with your folks and companions which, I think, you will find harder than you expect, and will have completed your journey safely with the help of God, and will greet the new world (in all probability in New York) with indescribable emotions, I would advance the following suggestion to you and your companions, i.e., if you will have no definite goal yet: We, namely I and our local dear brethren, will make arrangements in New York for your reception as soon as we know on which ship you will sail. In order not to stop in New York too long, where living is very expensive anyway, it would be advisable to go inland as soon as possible, and if the question remains as to where you should go, I make the proposal that you come to Summerfield for the time being. Here you are approximately in the center of the United States, so that you can easily reach a point in any direction, after a place of settle-

ment has been decided upon. This proposal I am extending to you on authority of the church under the following inducement.—As I have stated before in this letter, I read the letter of Uncle L. Sudermann to the congregation here last Sunday, whereupon Bro. Christian Krehbiel[15] made the proposal to the congregation to invite the twenty or twenty-five families who want to come to America the coming May to come directly to Summerfield, where they will be heartily welcomed, to which the entire congregation agreed, and instructed me to inform you about it. A better plan could hardly be proposed.

The fare on an immigrant train from New York to St. Louis is from $15-$20 (I am not certain yet, but it is not more); the expenses from St. Louis to Summerfield, about twenty-seven English miles, will not amount to very much.—In the meantime, until every family has rented a house (or several families together) it will be possible to find shelter as guests for several days with the dear and generous brethren.—Besides, there are some vacant houses here in Summerfield, which can be rented at the present time for $5 to $6 a month. In view of the fact that the friends here are so obliging, I am convinced that here it will be easiest for you to be happy and feel at home. —After the families had been lodged and taken care of, which is easily done here, one could look around for a location and make a settlement.

What do you think of this, if I would submit to you at this time a plan which has not been made known till now, and could be postponed, namely, to go down to Texas as soon as you have arrived, in order to see if a location could not be found there which will replace our old home again, for on my trip I was favorably impressed by Texas, which I will also explain in my letter to Uncle Sudermann. You and perhaps your dear friends over there will doubtless think that I am inconsistent, for whenever I visit another place I am enthusiastic about it. But I expect you as a competent man to judge differently, if I first assert that Texas offers not only great advantages of big undivided domains for very low prices, but we also have the prospect that through my and Bro. J. E. Schmitt's efforts, the results of which I expect every day, the legislature in Austin will pass a law according to which Mennonites as well as all other nonresistant Christians who decide to come to Texas shall be exempted from the state militia law. Every state has its own law and according to the instructions I have, it means something like this :Every citizen of the State is bound to appear for training once or twice a year at the place where he has to vote; in case a citizen does not come when the law calls him, he is fined $2. In times of peace this law is just a dead letter and is entirely neglected. A similar clause of exemption from the militia law exists only in the state of Pennsylvania for the nonresistant Christians, and has not been introduced in any other state up to this time. In case we should have attained that much, it will be a proof to me that the grace of God has been with me on this last trip.

Tuesday the fourth of this month. I was detained from finishing this letter yesterday by a land agent who absolutely wanted me to go with him to inspect the land in the southwestern part of Kansas which he said was the best in the world, etc.—Among the thirteen letters which I received when I returned from Texas, there was also one from an agent in Nebraska inviting me to come there including also free transportation to Lincoln, Neb. There would be nothing else to do for me but to travel, if I were to ac-

[15] Christian Krehbiel (1832-1910), prominent Mennonite elder, came to America from South Germany in 1851, settled in Summerfield in 1860, where he was ordained minister in 1864.

cept all the invitations, but I am already tired and do not have any greater desire than to be released from this duty as soon as possible or to get some help. The local friends assist me faithfully with advice and help. Especially Br. C. Krehbiel, my dear friend, does his best to lighten my duty in answering some of my letters, but I know, the longer I am here and deal with this affair the greater responsibility I assume, and how that is at this time, you know very well yourself. Especially among our friends and brethren there are many who watch us closely.

Sister M. Leisy came into my study just now and handed in your last letters which you began to write on January 4 and 15; the first one passed the Hamburg post office on January 31 and the latter, Odessa on January 25. It had been given over to the post office in Berdiansk on the twenty-second and has made the trip in forty days. In order to forward the letters quicker, one must write on the envelope, "via Hamburg or Bremen steamer," for the letter must often wait five to six days for the departure of the ship from Hamburg. I have spread out both of the letters before me and have read them already. Again you will receive the gratitude of your friend at this time for your efforts, because with the contents you have made me happy and have rewarded me greatly. I was intently waiting for the message which you have given me now, namely, when the deputation has begun its journey and when it can be expected here.

You express the sincere wish in all your letters, and also in the last one again, that I should join the deputation. It is doubtful yet if I will do that, despite the fact that my beloved parents have asked me to do my duty towards my brethren with my accumulated experiences as I have promised to do in previous letters; however, I feel compelled to deny my promise for the simple reason that I have learned to know the conditions in America to such an extent already, that I can pass judgment for myself, my parents, brothers and sisters, as well as all my benevolent friends and brethren who trust in me, if necessity demands, to establish a new home, and I advise everyone to do so. On the other hand, I am in no wise going to be so arrogant as to join the deputation without being invited, which latter I doubt.—My dear friend, do not think that I have become stubborn or proud, if I express myself somewhat obstinately, but I believe I have a right to be somewhat self-confident after I have brought sacrifices, not only for myself and you, but perhaps also for others without being asked to do so, only out of love and a sense of duty . . . .

Manitoba is pushed almost totally into the background in my thinking, and that on account of the cold climate. Recently I received a list of temperatures of every day for November, December, and January from Fort Garry. On December 24 the mercury fell to -41°F. (degrees Fahrenheit) and for the remaining time, i.e., December and January, it usually stood between -20° and -35°. They did not have over a foot of snow there, whereas the rest of Manitoba has suffered much from it this winter. I do not know anything about the gold field in Manitoba, and I doubt the story with which the German element in Canada tries to discredit the inhabitants of Manitoba.—At the shores of Lake Superior there are said to be gold and silver veins in places, but the mines have long ceased to work from lack of the metal.—My decision is, if there is no place for me in Texas, which I expect with some certainty, I will visit California and the northern territories before I settle down in Minnesota or some other state.—I am glad, my dear friend, that you have been happy in the circle of my parents and brothers and sisters; unfortunately that joy is only a future prospect for me, but perhaps the Lord has not yet denied me this pleasure; at any rate,

I am satisfied to a great extent in knowing that I have so many friends at home who sympathize with me and bear me up in their prayers.

Wednesday, the fifth. I have not yet finished this letter. I could not work any longer yesterday. I caught a cold and have such a toothache, and my left cheek is so swollen that I am almost incapable of working, but I have to constrain myself, for otherwise the work will pile up too much. I would go too far in stressing all the points which you have mentioned in your three letters, therefore I shall make just a few remarks. Just now I received a letter from Bro. J. Y. Schantz, Canada, who informs me that Mr. Hespeler[16] has already returned from Europe and that the government has told Hespeler to take the deputation to Manitoba as soon as it arrives in America and that the government has asked me to accompany the delegation there.—But it is to be hoped that the deputation will get along quite well without me! !—The Canadian Government has asked me to instruct them about the time of the arrival of the deputation as soon as I receive the information. Mr. W. Seeger, St. Paul, Minnesota, requests also to notify him by telegram as soon as someone arrives. I expect Mr. Seeger here any time, for he has promised to visit me in the beginning of March.—All this keeps me busy as you will judge yourself and besides that not to feel well makes one ill-humored, but the dear Savior helps me to tend to my work without displeasure.—I have rested again a few hours, but my toothache does not give way.—

Bro. J. Schantz writes in his above mentioned letter (literally), "*as much as I can discover,* one-third of the whole population of the Dominion of Canada is Catholic, but it is not any better in the United States in this respect, and concerning the making of 'trouble' [original has it in Pennsylvania Dutch] in the government or exerting influence we do not know anything, and say 'no' to that." With these few words Bro. Schantz says enough to destroy all doubt in this respect; they are very little concerned about the Catholics.

When we together left Russia it was unknown to me that friend Ph. Wiebe had gone on such an important mission; nor has he informed me directly that he is happily engaged since January 2. Peter Wiebe, from Rolla, Missouri, whose cousin is to marry Philipp, writes to local friends about it. He mentions also a letter which Gerh. Penner, elder of the Heubuden Church, [near Marienburg, West Prussia] is said to have received from Russia, in which that congregation is invited to join the Russian deputation with two deputees, but it has been declined in the presumption that it is premature.

I have not received any letter from Peter Dick yet, perhaps I am to blame for it, because I have not written to him directly. With Jacob Boehr I correspond for business reasons.—As soon as I have time, I shall make it my duty to answer your letters more specifically; but if you want to leave already toward the end of April, our correspondence will soon have to be discontinued, at least from my side. It is to be hoped that you will find a letter from me with Mr. Schuett[17] in Hamburg.—

Please tell me exactly when you will begin your journey, etc.—Meanwhile, I hope that our letters will meet each other several times yet.

Salute your dear parents-in-law and all the other friends, but special greetings to you and your family from your loving friend. Bernhard.

[16] William Hespeler (1830-1921) who emigrated from Baden, Germany, to Preston, Waterloo County, Ontario, in 1850, was Commissioner of Immigration and Agriculture in Winnipeg 1873-1883.

[17] Schuett was a Mennonite businessman of Hamburg, Germany, who assisted the Mennonites greatly on their way through Hamburg.

Letter No. 258

Lebanon, St. Clair Co., Ill's,
March 28/16, 1873.

My dearly beloved Friend!

The time flies; I cannot delay my answer any longer if my thoughts, which I am writing down here, shall reach you, my only true friend, in Berdiansk, the beloved home country. Two of your last letters, the first from January 28 and the last from February 11, with their heterogeneous and extensive contents are spread out before me on the desk. I almost feel ashamed when I consider how imperfectly and defectively I have answered your many letters. You cannot possibly be satisfied with my answers to your numerous questions. At this time I again find myself in a predicament, when I look at your two last letters, not knowing how I shall answer them satisfactorily to any extent . . . .

As you know, at a former conference at Alexanderwohl[18] my father was asked to give his consent that I might join the delegation to be sent, when it arrives here in America, in order to serve the brethren with my experiences. My father wrote this to me and left it to my judgment, whether or not I felt strong enough to meet the duties which would be expected of me in such a case. I considered the matter and promised to do my best; however, under the condition that I would not be bound to any responsibility. At a later conference where my father also was invited, in order to gain information about America out of my wretched letters, things had changed; namely, I had been pushed into the background by some dear brethren, perhaps for the reason, as it appeared to me at first, that I was a member of the Ohrloff church, or that my father was one. But later letters instructed me differently, in fact, of something better. At the conference in Pordenau, where Uncle L. Sudermann was elected delegate, and Mr. C. Jansen[19] of Berdiansk is said to have been present, my name also was mentioned and Mr. Jansen thereupon told the dear brethren that my letters were not at all to be trusted and that I was still much too young, and . . . . The latter I admit willingly, but concerning the reports of my experiences, Mr. Jansen certainly should have written to me personally, but it is quite all right; I do not bear a grudge against anyone who pushes me into the background, for I have long realized how incompetent I am. However, I know I still have parents, brothers, sisters, and friends who do not distrust my unselfish efforts, and I pray fervently that our faithful God may keep them.

In my last letter I also wrote somewhat unequivocally whether or not I would be able to anticipate your sincere wish; but the last letter of my parents contains exactly that which I desired to know, before I would report definitely to you, if I can await you here or not. My parents want me to stay here in America, until they have learned what fate has ordained for us in Russia through the proclamation of the new law and intimate further that they doubt whether I will ever be permitted to return to Russia, if I would not expose myself to the danger of being drafted as a soldier. That the matter should become so serious, is hard for me to believe, for the simple reason that I cannot very well familiarize myself with the thought that I should never see my old home again. Will this last thought disappear, perhaps, after you, my dear friend, will have arrived here?—

[18] The Alexanderwohl congregation in the Molotschna Colony in South Russia migrated to Kansas in 1874.

[19] Cornelius Jansen (1822-1894), of Berdiansk, South Russia, a prosperous Mennonite businessman, migrated to Beatrice, Nebraska, in 1873.

For I am tied to Russia only by my beloved home, otherwise it may remain where pepper grows.

In order to utilize my time best until your arrival, I have decided to learn English during the winter, to make up at last what I missed during my travels and correspondence; for this purpose I have chosen the Methodist college in the litlle town of Lebanon, two miles from Summerfield, and am here three days now. I am living with a congenial English family, from where I attend my class twice daily. I am occupied solely with the language, and will not begin any other studies. I hope you have acquired the knowledge of the English to such an extent, that you will no longer be troubled with the language, when you arrive here. That will be of inestimable value for you.

Dear friend, in your letter of January 28, you discuss the relationship between the United States and Canada; with real interest do I follow your extensive ideas, and must grant you the commendation that you will become a real American patriot. I assure you that you will be happy and feel at home in this country before a year has elapsed. In my letter to Uncle Sudermann I have expressed myself in favor of Texas; I would only like to know how that has been criticized. You, dear friend, do not worry about the choice between here and there, just come here safely with your dear family, parents, and friends, and we will discuss the matter orally with you, which will be more effective than these dead letters. I have already written to my parents, to grant me permission to buy a piece of land somewhere in the western states in company with local friends, before I return to Russia and you have arrived here; and I have expressed my readiness to establish a home for my parents, brothers, and sisters, so that when they follow in two or three years, they will have a definite place where they can live comfortably. I know of nothing better to do . . . .

Your last letter of February 11 contains the projected sketch of establishing a fund. I thank you, my dear friend, most heartily for your effort to explain this so clearly to me—it really made me glad, when I read in the letter that such a plan was made, if it would only be carried out. I have often discussed with local friends what means or authority will be given to the deputation, and have often pondered with my good friend Ch. Krehbiel over the plan which should really be carried out. If the deputation will come here with such authority, they can expect to be assailed with invitations from all sides . . . .

Bernhard.

Letter No. 260

Lebanon, St. Clair Co., Ills.,
April 10, 1873

Dear Friend D. Goerz!

. . . . I acknowledge herewith the reception of your dear letter of February 18, which I received March 29, and presumably I shall find another letter from you when I come to Summerfield next Saturday, from which I am very eager to learn about the outcome of the deputation. I have not recieved much news here since my last letter, with the exception that Brother J. F. Funk sent me a copy of Mr. Cor. Janzen's letter (from Berdiansk) last week, in which it is stated that the three Bergthal delegates definitely will begin the journey on February 22 or 23 and will go from New York directly to Mr. Hespeler in Canada and from there to Manitoba in order to join the deputation which will follow later. Besides, I received a letter from Mr. Seeger, St. Paul, Minn., last week, sending me also your letter of February 13 for information.

Mr. Seeger tells me in his letter that he has found it neccessary to resign his position on account of intrigues against him in governmental affairs, and therefore he will return to private life—therewith the immigration office is discontinued. He accuses mainly the sluggishness and indifference of the last legislature in regard to the concessions of money for the advancement of immigration, and expressed himself to the effect that all individuals whom he knows in the different classes of the population of Minnesota welcome our immigrants very much, and for his part he promises that as soon as we reach Minnesota, i.e., the deputation, he will see to it that the various railroad companies will allow free fare tickets, and he will help to the extent of his ability. I regret that Mr. Seeger has been removed from his office, for, though I have not yet learned to know him personally, I believe myself justified in concluding from his letter that he must be an unselfish and benevolent gentleman, who actually takes the welfare of his state to heart. This must not deter us, however; and I believe, nevertheless, that, if a deputation which represents so many thousand immigrants should come to Minnesota, the government will then make offers, but of course, we can not find out anything definite until later, when actual steps have been taken . . . .

Bernhard.

Letter No. 261

Lebanon, St. Clair Co., Ill's.,
April 22, 1873

Dear Friend Goerz!

. . . . Yesterday I received a letter from Bro. J. F. Funk, Elkhart, Indiana, with the information that a deputation of three from Russia (presumably the Bergthaler) is already in Canada and plans to arrive in Elkhart tomorrow, the twenty-third of this month, but it is not said where they are going or if they are on a trip. I am surprised that not a single word about the departure of this deputation has been written to me, so that I am in the position of a fool, who does not know what to answer to the many questions that come from all sides. My dear friend, I do not accuse you in this, for I know very well that you have overlooked it in your many activities and thoughts, and that you have been under the impression to have written it to me in your previous letter; therefore, be not troubled about it, nothing is lost thereby. My father, from whom I have received a letter of a later date, does not mention it either and only from C. Jansen's letter to J. F. Funk did I learn something about it.

In case the Russian brethren do not have a definitely set goal in mind where they want to go from Elkhart, J. F. Funk is instructed by the brethren C. Krehbiel and J. Leisy to invite them to come to Summerfield; I will be glad to see some of my countrymen again. Now I am becoming more and more interested in what information your next letters will bring me, whether you have escaped unscathed, and how the immigration situation is developing after the Russian Government has placed some obstacles in the way, as you have written; and whether you and your parents-in-law will accept the invitation of the Summerfield congregation, for according to your writing you are now alone with the deputation which is following, mentioning only yet a certain Bro. Funk from Fuerstenau. As many as there may be, I have the instruction to invite you all heartily, and the deputation as well is definitely expected, who may depend on the necessary advice, sympathy, and help of the Summerfield congregation . . . .

Bernhard Warkentin.

Letter No. 285 Summerfield, St. Clair Co., Ills.
August 13, 1873..

Dear Friend D. Goerz!

If our friendship were based entirely on our frequent correspondence, the condition would be deplorable lately from my side, for to my joy two letters have already come to me, the first of May 29 and the second of June 17, and to my regret they have remained unanswered till now, purely out of business reasons and neglect. . . .

Dear friend, as you will learn from the letters of your parents which Uncle L. Sudermann will bring to you, we have been informed last Sunday, the tenth of this month, by a letter from G. Penner, elder of the Heubuden Church in Prussia, that 450 Mennonites from South Russia have already left for America, and that you also will arrive in Prussia in the near future (the letter was written July 17). Is this entirely a misunderstanding? At least I cannot explain to myself who these 450 souls might be, since the Crimean families hardly have more than 200, and that you have not mentioned your departure to me is just as unexplainable . . . .

Dear Friend, my experiences now are almost the same as yours were when you wrote your last letter: I find myself in a predicament to select the material for one letter. I am well supplied with experiences which I have made in recent days and I praise my God for them, but to relate them in detail would be tedious, therefore I shall give only fragments. You will know from other letters how and where the deputation has travelled and also that Rev. W. Ewert from Prussia and Rev. J. Buller decided to make a visitation trip to Kansas and Texas by request of the Summerfield brethren, on which I had the honor, or rather the privilege, to be their companion. This trip of two weeks went over as well as I could have expected, with the exception of a few disappointments. Our company consisted of six members, W. Ewert, J. Buller, Peter Wiebe from Rolla, Missouri, Daniel Haury from Summerfield, J. Kroeker, a young man from Prussia, and myself. I cannot but express my regret that L. Sudermann and the other members of the deputation have not seen the southern states; it appears to me that accusations will be made later on. I must say that I am surprised, although I do not have anything to do with it, that the whole deputation consisting of twelve members has been carried away so totally by the influence of the Canadian Government and the Northern Pacific Railway Company, and received such a prejudice against the southern states that they did not even consider them worth seeing. Manitoba received recognition at last only by the dear Bergthaler brethren and by the two deputies of the *Kleine Gemeinde,* Klassen and Toews, so that it might be concluded that only these people will advise their churches to go there,[20] the rest, on the contrary, have definitely decided for the Dakota territory. Rev. Buller could not be persuaded otherwise during the two weeks of our association; he simply believes Dakota is the place for us and there he stops.[21] Rev. Ewert, on the contrary, is of an altogether different opinion, so that it is to be expected that one part of the Prussian Mennonites will choose land in Kansas, close to the Arkansas River, where all of us liked it very much;

[20] The Bergthal congregation, and the Kleine Gemeinde, both did migrate to Manitoba in 1874.

[21] When some of the members of the deputation, after they had investigated Dakota Territory, Minnesota, and Nebraska, stopped in Summerfield, J. Buller and W. Ewert agreed to investigate Kansas. Although L. Sudermann showed no interest in Kansas at this time and J. Buller, a delegate of the large Alexanderwohl group, still preferred Dakota, both settled with their followers in Kansas when they arrived a year later.

the climate is healthy and mild, the water good, and I believe that the soil is fertile, ready to establish a happy home and a secure existence, which you may have in Kansas in the full sense of the word. The drawbacks which are there will be possible to overcome, at least much easier than a winter of seven months.

As readily as I would like to establish my home in the midst of our Russian brethren, I cannot yet console myself with the thought that I should go as far north as Dakota. Then again, sometimes I think, what does it matter where you go; if people can live satisfactorily and happily, I can do it also; but nevertheless, I would appreciate it much more if our Mennonites from Russia and Prussia who migrate to America would establish their home in a milder climate. Now my dear friend, if God permits, we will discuss this orally sooner or later, for what does this unnecessarily much writing help in the final analysis. The deputies, Rev. Ewert and Rev. Buller, left here last Monday, the eleventh of this month, and took the route via Cincinnati to Wadsworth, where they wanted to visit the Mennonite school, and from there via Pittsburg to New York, where they will have arrived yesterday, the thirteenth. Their intention was to meet Rev. Sudermann and their other companions there and begin the voyage together. In four weeks from the coming Sunday, their arrival at home can be expected. Often I already calculate with your parents-in-law what work you should do immediately after you have arrived here, for we will stay here for the coming winter, anyway. Your dear parents are now at the point of changing their quarters.[22] They did not have a very good house, and besides, they had the inconvenience to live with an English family under the same roof. The present house is better and so large that there is enough room for you also when you arrive. About the rest we will not be concerned yet. . . .

Bernhard

Appendix

Bernhard Warkentin, to J. H. Pope, Minister of Agriculture, no date given (End of November, 1872). (Original not found. The following is filed as "translation by W. Wagner.")

Source: Public Archives of Canada, Dept. of Agriculture, General Correspondence No. 7389.

(Ernst Correll Collection, Goshen College Library)

Sir

By the report of my friend J. Y. Schantz you will have seen that we have returned from our journey through Manitoba which we have made in company of Mr. Hart and Mr. Wagner and as regards the probability of an emigration of my Russian friends to this Province I beg to say:

Although the winter is a little harder and about four to six weeks longer here than in South Russia I cannot say that this would be a hindrance to accept the offer of the Canadian Government.

As regards the lands which I have seen I must acknowledge that they are very well adapted for agricultural purposes and in quality are above expectation. It will be desirable, that when the deputation of my friends next spring will arrive, larger tracts as those which we have seen should be shown to them. The notes which I have taken during our journey I shall send immediately at home.

22 The Riesen family, parents-in-law of David Goerz, had meanwhile arrived, while Goerz was delayed. He soon followed.

ATTENDANCE IN MENNONITE SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1948-1949

Silas Hertzler

For the school year 1948-49 there was once more a phenomenal increase in the reported total attendance in Mennonite secondary schools and colleges. This rise was from 6161 to 6871, or a total increase of 710 in this one year. It must be pointed out, however, that this percentage growth of 11.5% is in part due to the inclusion of seven new schools.

All of the three schools representing the United Missionary Church reported for the school year 1948-49, and the information is included in the various tables. Some confusion arose the previous year due to the change of official title of this church from Mennonite Brethren in Christ to the present name. Two of the reports for this group of schools were given for the school year 1946-47, but were omitted for 1947-48, due to lack of information. The schools representing the United Missionary Church are Bethel College, Mishawaka, Indiana; Mountain View Bible College, Didsbury, Alberta; and Emmanuel Bible School and Academy, Kitchener, Ontario.

The Pacific Bible Institute, located in Fresno, California, is included in the tables for the first time this year. The report for the school year 1947-48 was received too late to be tabulated last year, though Table XII for 1948-49 is being corrected to include the data for this school. Their report for 1947-48 gave a total attendance of 121. The students were classified as follows; juniors 17; sophomores 30; freshmen 48; special 4; evening classes 22. Of this group, 77 were Mennonites, and 44 were non-Mennonites. The school is administered by the Mennonite Brethren Church, though students attended from ten other Protestant denominations. In addition three other Mennonite groups were represented. Table XII as reported for 1948-49 has been changed also so as to include the attendance data for Bethel College, Mishawaka, Indiana, along with the Pacific Bible Institute, since these data are also now available for use.

The new institutions are all recently organized schools, three being located in Manitoba, one in Alberta, and one in Missouri. They are the Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Steinbach Bible Academy, Steinbach, Manitoba; Canadian Mennonite Bible College, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Alberta Men-

nonite High School, Coaldale, Alberta; and Bethel Springs School, Culp, Arkansas.

The 36 colleges and secondary schools for which data are tabulated for 1948-49 are the following:

Mennonite Biblical Seminary, 4614 Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois
Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana
Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia
Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas
Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio
Grace Bible Institute, 1515 South Tenth Street, Omaha 8, Nebraska
Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas
Hesston College and Bible School, Hesston, Kansas
Sharon Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Yarrow, British Columbia
Lancaster Mennonite School, Route 4, Lancaster, Pennsylvania
Mennonite Educational Institute, Abbotsford, British Columbia
Immanuel Bible School and Academy, Box 128, Reedley, California
Freeman Junior College and Academy, Freeman, South Dakota
Pacific Bible Institute, 2149 Tuolumne, Fresno, California
Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 77 Kelvin Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba
Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Gretna, Manitoba
Rosthern Junior College, Rosthern, Saskatchewan
Bethel College, Mishawaka, Indiana
Eden Bible and High School, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario
Corn Bible School and Academy, Corn, Oklahoma
Emmanuel Bible College, 20 Ahrens Street, E., Kitchener, Ontario
Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute, 173 Talbot Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba
Rockway Mennonite School, Route 3, Kitchener, Ontario
Iowa Mennonite School, Kalona, Iowa
Steinbach Bible Academy, Steinbach, Manitoba
United Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Leamington, Ontario
Oklahoma Bible Academy, Meno, Oklahoma
Mountain View Bible College, Didsbury, Alberta
Berean Academy, Elbing, Kansas
Western Mennonite School, Route 1, Box 626, Salem, Oregon
Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 103 Furby Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba
Alberta Mennonite High School, Coaldale, Alberta
Johnstown Mennonite School, Route 2, Hollsopple, Pennsylvania
Meade Bible Academy, Meade, Kansas
Lustre Bible Academy, Lustre, Montana
Bethel Springs School, Culp, Arkansas

Table I lists in abbreviated fashion the 36 schools included for 1948-49. The complete names of the schools and exact addresses are given earlier in this introduction. Tables II and III arrange the same information as given in Table I, so that students of college grade, and those on the high-school level are arranged by classes. Seventeen schools had students on the college level, ranging from 23

in one school to 964 in another. The total number of college students for the year was 3674 and the total number of students below college level was 3197. Sixty-one students in the college group were on the graduate school level, having previously earned bachelor's degrees. Thirty-two schools reported that students were in attendance on the high-school level.

Table IV arranges the Mennonite students by denominations. Twenty-five Mennonite groups were reported. In addition seventeen were given as unclassified Mennonites. The total of 5814 Mennonites is 523 more than was reported for any previous year. The 1057 not members of the Mennonite Church, represented sixty-one non-Mennonite groups, along with one member of the Buddhist faith and 81 who were entirely unaffiliated with any religious group.

States, provinces, and countries are listed in tables VI and VII for the 5814 Mennonites and for the 1057 non-Mennonite students. Mennonite students are at home in 32 states, in five provinces of Canada, and in nine foreign countries. Non-Mennonites attending these schools live in 31 American states, in five provinces of Canada, and in 10 foreign countries, besides Puerto Rico and Hawaii.

Tables VIII and IX rearrange the Mennonite students on the basis of the number who are in college and those still in high school. As in previous years the number in high school is larger than the number in college. Table X shows an increase of 123 in summer attendance with six schools having a summer session. Each school having a summer session showed an advance in attendance, with a summer session reported at one additional school over the previous year.

Several schools did not give complete reports on the number of women students and the number of men. As far as this information is available it is shown in Table XI. Table XII shows the comparative enrollments for these annual reports, since they were first tabulated in 1928-29. This year for the first time the number of schools reporting is tabulated in a separate column. Table XIII summarizes the number receiving degrees and diplomas and shows what these degrees and diplomas are.

TABLE I

Total Enrollment in Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges 1948-49

School	Graduate Students	College	Academy	Bible	Other Depts.	Total Enrollment
Mennonite Biblical Seminary	28	2				30
Goshen College	19[1]	945[4]		30[2]	14[3]	1008
Eastern Mennonite College	2	276	253	179[2]	101[3]	811
Bethel College, Kansas		609			107[5]	716
Bluffton College		357			39[6]	396[7]
Grace Bible Institute		336				336
Tabor College	7	304	25			336
Hesston College and Bible School		136	153	4	14	307
Sharon Mennonite Collegiate Institute			268			268
Lancaster Mennonite School			248			248[9]
Mennonite Educational Institute		39	177			216
Immanuel Bible School and Academy			189			189
Freeman Junior College and Academy		58	114			172
Pacific Bible Institute	4	163				167
Mennonite Brethren Bible College		142				142
Mennonite Collegiate Institute		41	95			136
Rosthern Junior College		49	87			136
Bethel College, Indiana	1	95	20			116
Eden Bible and High School			88	22		110
Corn Bible School and Academy			96			96
Emmanuel Bible College			88			88
Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute			87			87
Rockway Mennonite School			83			83
Iowa Mennonite School			74			74
Steinbach Bible Academy			71			71
United Mennonite Collegiate Institute			71[8]			71
Oklahoma Bible Academy			67			67
Mountain View Bible College		23	27		10[6]	60
Berean Academy			54			54
Western Mennonite School			54			54
Canadian Mennonite Bible College		38	10			48
Alberta Mennonite High School			47			47
Johnstown Mennonite School			45			45
Meade Bible Academy			42			42
Lustre Bible Academy			30			30
Bethel Springs School			14			14
Total	61	3613	2677	235	285	6871

1 9 fifth-year Th.B. students. 7 Bible students beyond the Th.B. level. 3 liberal arts graduate students.
2 Bible students for six weeks only.
3 Correspondence students not of college grade.
4 24 correspondence students of college grade included.
5 Music students not of college grade. Bethel College Bulletin, June 15, 1949, p. 118.
6 Fine arts students not of college rank.
7 Bluffton College Bulletin, May, 1949, p. 57.
8 These students also are all listed as Bible students. In addition 8 are given as fine arts students.
9 1949 Mennonite Yearbook, p. 36.

TABLE II

Enrollment by Classes, College Students, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges

1948-49

College	Graduate Students	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Special	Summer	Other Depts.	Spring	Total
Goshen	19	131	135	156	198	171	103[2]	35[1]	16[2]	964
Bethel, Kansas		56	119	100	140	45	88	46[3]	15	609
Bluffton		56	83	81	82	16	39[2]			357
Grace Bible Institute		61	80	61	129		5[6]			336[5]
Tabor	7[4]	29	58	82	97	5	33			311
Eastern Mennonite	2	27	25	57	120	26	21			278
Pacific Bible Institute	4[9]	15	28	28	65	5	22[7]			167
M.B.B.C.		41		30	46	25				142
Hesston				34	70	9		6[7]	17	136
Bethel, Indiana	1	5	16	37	32	5				96
Freeman				19	26	11		2[10]		58
Rosthern				2	47					49
M.C.I.					41					41
M.E.I.				18[8]	21					39
C.M.B.C.				13	22	3				38
M.B.S.	28					2				30
M.V.B.C.		6	2	1	9	5				23
Total	61	427	546	719	1145	328	311	89	48	3674

[1] Eleven Scottdale extension students; 24 correspondence students.

[2] Not counting duplicates with the regular school year.

[3] 7 extension students; 38 students in Marion County Teachers Institute. Bethel College Bulletin, June 15, 1949, p. 118.

[4] Two fifth-year Th.B. students; 3 graduate Bible students beyond Th.B. level; 2 liberal arts graduate students.

[5] Listed as Bible students; it is assumed all are of college grade.

[6] It is assumed that five summer students did not attend during the school year, since the total for the school year was given as 331.

[7] Evening classes.

[8] Listed as Matriculation students.

[9] Fifth-year Th.B. students.

[10] One evening student; one correspondence student.

TABLE III

Enrollment by Classes, Students not of College Grade, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges

1948-49

School	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomores	Freshmen	Special	Bible	Other Depts.	Total
E.M.C.	87[3]	68[4]	45	35	18	179[5]	101[6]	533
Sharon	119	149						268
Lancaster								248[14]
Immanuel	47	40	50	52				189
M.E.I.	35	54	46	42[8]				177
Hesston	53	45	33	21	1	4[7]	14[2]	171
M.C.I.		48	30	17				95
Freeman	31	37	20	25	1			114
E.B. & H.S.	20	20	30	40				110[10]
Bethel College, Kansas							107[1]	107
Corn Bible School	35	22	25	13	1[11]			96
Emmanuel Bible College		16	5	14	1		52[13]	88
M.B.C.I.	15	32	28	9	3			87
Rosthern	53	23	11					87
Rockway	17	16	21	29				83
Iowa Mennonite	23	12	18	21				74
Steinbach	4	17	13	6		31[12]		71
U.M.C.	7	20	18	26				71
O.B.A.	16	15	19	17				67
Berean	11	17	16	10				54
Western Mennonite	6	11	15	21	1			54
Alberta	15	11	11	10				47
Johnstown	8	10	13	13	1			45
Goshen College						30	14[2]	44
Meade	12	7	14	9				42
Bluffton College							39[1]	39
Mountain View	7	7	5	8			10[1]	37
Lustre		8	14	8				30
Tabor College	19	6						25
Bethel College, Indiana	1	2	6	11				20[9]
Bethel Springs	3	4	1	4	2			14
Canadian Mennonite					10			10
								319[15]
Total	644	717	507	461	39	244	337	294[16]

1 Non-credit fine arts students.
2 Correspondence students.
3 Three high-school Bible seniors included.
4 Nine high-school Bible juniors included.
5 One part-time Bible student; 178 students for six weeks only.
6 Bible correspondence, not counting duplicates.
7 Christian worker students who hold no high-school diploma.
8 Listed as grade VIII.
9 Listed as Bible students of high-school grade.
10 22 students given as Bible students of high-school grade.
11 One student already a high-school graduate.
12 Bible students who need not have graduated from elementary school. 13 freshmen; 5 juniors; 13 seniors.
13 Evening class.
14 1949 Mennonite Yearbook, p. 36.
15 Vertical total.
16 Horizontal total.

TABLE IV

Mennonite Students in Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges
1948-49

	E.M.C.	Goshen	Bethel, Kans.	Tabor	Hesston	Sharon	Grace	Lancaster	M.E.I.	Bluffton	Freeman	Immanuel	Menn. Breth. B	M.C.I.	Rosthern	Pacific	Eden	Bethel, Ind.	Corn	M.B.C.I.	Iowa	Rockway	Emmanuel	U.M.C.I.	Steinbach	Oklahoma	MountainView	Western	Berean	Canadian	Alberta	Johnstown	Meade	M.B.S.	Lustre	Bethel Springs	Total
(Old) Mennonite	728	634	13	1	258	..	2	248[1]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	66	62	4	..	..	..	..	53	..	..	..	45	..	..	..	10	2124
G.C. Menn.	..	40	452	12	23	11	187	..	34	176	128	4	11	87	118	5	12	..	1	6	..	2	..	..	5	66	..	..	50	40	1	..	..	28	2	..	1501
Mennonite Brethren	..	2	4	223	..	257	10	..	165	..	11	125	118	4	7	102	96	..	91	76	..	..	6	4	3	1	..	..	..	..	45	..	..	1	17	..	1368
United Miss. (M.B.C.)	..	18	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	103	..	..	..	..	55	..	..	..	57	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	236
Evan. Menn. Breth.	..	13	1	9	..	..	47	..	3	..	10	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23	..	9	..	118
Krim. Menn. Breth.	..	5	..	46	3	..	7	..	..	..	8	26	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	98
United Mennonite	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	66	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	67
Conser. Amish Menn.	48	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	56
Bergtaler Menn.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	25	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	46
Kleine Gemeinde	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	38	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	43
Amish Mennonite	19	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	31
European Mennonite	..	9	9	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	21
Rudnerweider	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	20
Immanuel Menn. Ch.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	..	..	..	..	17
Immanuel M. Breth.	..	..	..	4	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
Mennonite Unclassified	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	12	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17
Ch. of God in Christ	..	..	1	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Evangelical Mennonite	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
Sommerfelder Menn.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Swiss Mennonite	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Old Order Amish	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Sterling Ave. Menn.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Wisler Mennonite	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Menn. Free Church	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Old Colony Menn.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Doopsgezinde	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	804	727	483	297	292	268	257	248	216	180	159	155	135	133	127	110	108	103	92	87	74	73	71	71	68	67	58	53	51	48	46	45	40	30	28	10	5814

[1] 1949 Mennonite Yearbook, p. 36. Assumed that all are Mennonites.

TABLE XIII

Diplomas Given and Degrees Granted, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1948-49

Degree	M.B.S.	Goshen	Bethel, K.	Bluffton	Tabor	Grace	M.B.B.C.	E.M.C.	Bethel, Ind.	Hesston	Freeman	Pacific	U.M.C.I.	Emmanuel	Mt. View	Steinbach	Sharon	Corn	Oklahoma	Eden	Berean	Iowa	Rockway	Total
B.D.	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Th.B.	..	5	..	..	3	9	8	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	27
B.A.	..	72	43	17	23	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	159
B.S. in Education	..	32	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	34
B.S.	..	..	..	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
B.R.E.	..	..	..	..	..	4	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
B.S. in Home Economics	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
B.S. in Nursing	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
B.S. in Business	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
B.S. in Biology	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
B.S. in Industrial Arts	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
B.S. in Phys. Ed.	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
B. of Education	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
B. of School Music	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Three Year Diploma, Bible (college)	..	..	..	..	3	48	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	72
Associate in Arts	..	14	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	27	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	60
Junior College	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Two-year normal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Junior College Bible	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Christian Workers	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Christian Education	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Two-year diploma in Bible	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	10	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19
Graduate in Theology	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Music Diploma	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
One year college	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
One year normal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19
One year secretarial	..	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
Academy	..	..	..	..	31	..	..	64	..	64	22	..	9	..	..	..	44	36	23	12	8	8	6	327
Bible Academy (3 yrs.)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	1	..	7	..	..	..	19
Bible Academy (2 yrs.)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Missions Diploma	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Total	1	141	56	37	71	61	20	85	1	93	56	15	19	16	12	11	48	37	23	19	8	8	6	844

TABLE V

Non-Mennonite Students in Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges

1948-49

	Goshen	Bethel, Kans.	Bluffton	Grace	Pacific	Tabor	Immanuel	Emmanuel	Hesston	Bethel, Ind.	Freeman	Rockway	Rosthern	E.M.C.	Menn. Breth. Bible	Bethel Springs	Corn	Berean	M.C.I.	Steinbach	Eden	Lustre	Meade	Mountain View	Alberta	Western	Total
Methodist	69	26	44	6	1	5	1	..	5	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	163
No Report	..	153[3]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	153
Baptist	19	9	16	12	31	8	1	1	..	1	1	4	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	108
Evan. United Brethren	29	4	34	4	1	4	..	2	..	3	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	85
Unaffiliated	16	..	2	12	2	13	30	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	81
Presbyterian	21	5	20	10	..	2	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	61
Brethren	36	..	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	43
Lutheran	12	4	8	3	2	1	..	..	..	1	5	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	43
Unknown	..	..	29	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	3	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	37
Interdenominational	3	..	..	14	4	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23
Roman Catholic	5	6	9	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21
Brethren in Christ	12	1	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19
Evangelical Reformed	6	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19
Congregational Christian	13	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Chr. Miss. Alliance	1	..	..	8	3	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Christian	6	5	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	15
Church of God	3	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	5	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	14
Congregational	..	7	4	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
Episcopalian	8	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
Evangelical	..	3	4	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Disciples of Christ	4	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Church of Christ	..	2	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
Nazarene	2	1	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Assembly of God	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Asso. Gospel Churches	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Reformed	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
United Ch. of Canada	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5

Pentecostal	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Pilgrim Holiness	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Apostolic Christian	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Coptic	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Friends	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Gospel Workers	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Missionary	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Waldensian	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Christian Science	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Church of God in Christ	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Covenant	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Seventh-Day Adventists	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Free Methodist	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2
United Brethren	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Armenian U.B.	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Bible Church	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Buddhist	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Christian Reformed	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Christian Union	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Church of Christ in God	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Colored Methodist	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Church of the Open Door	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Community	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Dunkard Brethren	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Dutch Reformed	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Elim Miss. Assembly	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
European Evangelical	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Evan. Congregational	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Evan. Free Church	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Gospel Crusader	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Holiness	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Hutterian	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Indian Syrian Orthodox	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Lund Mission	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Russian Baptist	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
United Presbyterian	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
United Zion's Children	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Unity	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	281	233	216	79	57	39	34	17	15	13	13	10	9	7	7	4	4	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	1	1	1057

[3] Includes 107 non-credit music students and 46 extension students.

TABLE VI

States, Provinces, and Countries from which Mennonite Students Come, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges 1948-49

	E.M.C.	Goshen	Bethel, Kans.	Tabor	Hesston	Sharon	Grace	Lancaster	M.E.I.	Bluffton	Freeman	Immanuel	Menn. Breth. B	M.C.I.	Rosthern	Pacific	Eden	Bethel, Ind.	Corn	M.B.C.I.	Iowa	Rockway	Emmanuel	U.M.C.I.	Steinbach	Oklahoma	Mountain View	Western	Beream	Canadian	Alberta	Johnstown	Meade	M.B.S.	Lustre	Bethel Springs	Total
Kansas	3	30	339	151	135	..	65	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	51	..	..	..	40	9	..	..	830
Pennsylvania	349	109	2	..	3	..	9	..	..	31	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	44	..	1	..	..	549
No Report	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	248[3]	..	..	102[1]	..	..	..	..	..	..	103[1]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	57[2]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	537
British Columbia	..	..	2	7	..	266	..	..	214	..	..	..	29	..	2	6	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	530
Manitoba	..	6	4	3	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	59	131	..	..	..	..	..	81	..	..	..	1	68	..	..	..	..	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	382
Ontario	31	19	1	2	4	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	16	1	..	..	108	..	..	3	..	71	70	43	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	1	..	..	379
California	..	6	11	30	4	..	9	..	..	4	..	155	..	..	..	85	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	305
Ohio	60	139	2	..	6	..	8	..	..	75	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	293
Oklahoma	3	3	25	45	3	..	25	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	89	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	59	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	253
Indiana	18	180	2	..	20	..	5	..	..	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	250
Virginia	218	9	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	228
Iowa	19	37	..	..	20	..	6	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	73	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	161
Saskatchewan	..	1	5	5	2	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	13	..	93	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	130
Illinois	1	73	2	..	13	..	..	..	..	24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	114
Alberta	4	..	6	2	2	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	14	..	30	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	3	46	..	..	..	..	..	113
Oregon	3	14	2	1	10	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	52	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	103
Minnesota	..	16	14	13	7	..	38	..	..	5	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	96
South Dakota	..	1	10	12	..	..	12	..	..	1	39	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	..	..	..	3	..	..	92
Nebraska	..	6	20	3	15	..	20	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	74
Montana	2	1	7	4	9	..	12	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	28	..	73
Michigan	20	20	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	46
Maryland	31	11	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	43
New York	18	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24
North Dakota	..	2	1	3	6	..	7	..	..	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23
Colorado	..	16	1	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21
Germany	2	4	5	2	1	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	21
Missouri	3	2	3	..	10	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20

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TABLE VII

States, Provinces, and Countries from Which Non-Mennonite Students Come, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1948-48

	Goshen	Bethel, Kans.	Bluffton	Grace	Pacific	Tabor	Immanuel	Emmanuel	Hesston	Bethel, Ind.	Freeman	Rockway	Rosthern	Menn. Breth.	E.M.C.	Bethel Springs	Corn	Berean	M.C.I.	Steinbach	Eden	Lustre	Meade	Mountain View	Alberta	Western	Total
Indiana	233	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	235
Ohio	5	..	186	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	193
No Report	..	153[2]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13[3]	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2[3]	1	..	182
Kansas	..	66	..	8	..	27	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	117
California	..	..	..	..	50	3	34	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	87
Nebraska	..	1	..	40	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	42
Ontario	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	29
Pennsylvania	14	..	7	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
Manitoba	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
Puerto Rico	6	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Saskatchewan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Iowa	1	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Minnesota	2	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Michigan	6	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
New York	2	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
Arkansas	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Illinois	5	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Oklahoma	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Missouri	1	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Washington	..	..	..	1	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Ethiopia	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Italy	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Montana	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	3
Oregon	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
British Columbia	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2

Colorado	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
France	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Germany	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Hawaii	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Maryland	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Mississippi	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
New Jersey	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Texas	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Wisconsin	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	2
Alberta	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
Argentina	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
China	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Connecticut	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Costa Rica	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Idaho	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Kentucky	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Korea	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Mexico	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Netherlands	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Nevada	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
North Carolina	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
South Dakota	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Tennessee	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Utah	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total	281	233	216	79	57	39	34	17	15	13	13	10	9	7	7	4	4	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	1	1	1057

[1] No details given for two Canadian students.
[2] See Table V.
[3] Exact details not given.

TABLE VIII

Mennonite Students of College Grade, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1948-49

School	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Goshen College	339	345	684
Bethel College, Kansas	268	212	483[4]
Eastern Mennonite College	130	145	275
Tabor College	155	119	274
Grace Bible Institute	134	120	254[1]
Bluffton College	97	71	168
Mennonite Brethren Bible College			135
Hesston College and Bible School	54	76	130
Pacific Bible Institute	59	51	110
Bethel College, Indiana			95[2]
Freeman Jr. College and Academy	25	25	50
Rosthern Junior College	28	21	49[5]
Mennonite Collegiate Institute			41[6]
Canadian Mennonite Bible College	27	11	38
Mennonite Biblical Seminary	24	6	30[3]
Mountain View Bible College	12	6	18
Total	1352	1208	2834[7]
			2560[8]

[1] Two Mennonites not reported for this table. [2] No report on exact details.
[3] 28 graduate students; 2 of college grade.
[4] Statistics not given for 107 music and art students and for 46 extension students and 3 regular college students.
[5] Statistics somewhat uncertain. [6] Details not given. Assumed all are Mennonites.
[7] Vertical total. [8] Horizontal total.

TABLE XII

Comparative Enrollment Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1928-1949

Year	Number of schools	Mennonite	Non-Mennonite	Graduate Students	College	Academy	Bible	Other Depts.	Total Below College Grade	Total
1928-29		1025	513		847	569		122	691	1538
1929-30		1259	708		1085	609		173	882	1967
1930-31		1515	655		1234	710	110	126	946	2180
1931-32		1337	591		944	522	259	203	984	1928
1932-33		1135	538		906	416	277	74	767	1673
1933-34		1259	476		921	348	402	64	814	1735
1934-35		1742	530		1025	550	502	195	1247	2272
1935-36		2274	574		1151	1050	470	177	1697	2848
1936-37		2640	496		1242	948	800	146	1894	3136
1937-38		2258	680		1431	821	542	144	1507	2938
1938-39		2221	586		1447	690	530	140	1360	2807
1939-40		2164	628		1560	808	308	116	1236	2792
1940-41		2101	608		1581	688	343	97	1128	2709
1941-42		2218	600	9	1485	806	334	184	1324	2818
1942-43		2536	424	10	1331	1063	383	173	1619	2960
1943-44		2408	512	17	1267	1144	220	272	1636	2920
1944-45		2615	579	15	1219	1250	353	357	1960	3194
1945-46		3265	482	27	1689	1523	215	293	2031	3747
1946-47	22	4333	685	47	2760	1658	215	338	2211	5018
1947-48	27	5291	870	49	3248	2285	274	305	2864	6161
1948-49	36	5814	1057	61	3613	2677	235	285	3197	6871

TABLE IX

Mennonite Students Not of College Grade, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1948-49

School	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Eastern Mennonite College	229	300	529
Sharon Mennonite Collegiate Institute	146	122	268
Lancaster Mennonite School			248[3]
Mennonite Educational Institute	104	112	216
Hesston College and Bible School	60	102	162
Immanuel Bible School and Academy			155[1]
Mennonite Collegiate Institute			95[1]
Freeman Junior College			109[1]
Eden Bible and High School			108[1]
Corn Bible School and Academy			92[1]
Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute	39	48	87
Rosthern Junior College			78[1]
Iowa Mennonite School			74[1]
Rockway Mennonite School	19	51	73[2]
Emmanuel Bible College			71[1]
United Mennonite Collegiate Institute	39	32	71
Steinbach Bible Academy	40	28	68
Oklahoma Bible Academy	35	32	67
Western Mennonite School	24	29	53
Berean Academy	25	26	51
Alberta Mennonite School	26	20	46
Johnstown Mennonite School	20	25	45
Goshen College	26	17	43
Meade Bible Academy			40[1]
Mountain View Bible College	17	23	40
Lustre Bible Academy	9	19	28
Tabor College	7	16	23
Bluffton College	3	9	12
Bethel Springs School	2	8	10
Canadian Mennonite Bible College	8	2	10
Bethel College, Indiana			8[1]
Total	878	1021	2980[4] 1899[5]

[1] Details not given.
[2] No report for 3 students.
[3] 1949 Mennonite Yearbook, p. 36.
[4] Vertical total.
[5] Horizontal total.

TABLE X

Students in Summer Session, 1948, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges

School	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Goshen College	89	165	254[1]
Bethel College, Kansas	48	78	126
Bluffton College	49	46	95
Tabor College	29	31	60
E.M.C.	18	23	41
Grace Bible Institute	13	10	23
Hesston College and Bible School	1	16	17[2]
Total	247	369	616

[1] 44 Spring term students; 210 students for nine-week session.
[2] Spring term only.

TABLE XI

Total Attendance, Men and Women, Mennonite Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1948-49

School	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Goshen College	489	519	1008
E.M.C.	363	448	811
Bethel College, Kansas	299	261	716[1]
Bluffton College	210	186	396
Grace Bible Institute	173	158	336[2]
Tabor College	186	150	336
Hesston College and Bible School	120	187	307
Sharon Mennonite Collegiate Institute	146	122	268
Lancaster Mennonite School			248[4]
Mennonite Educational Institute	104	112	216
Immanuel Bible School and Academy			189[3]
Freeman Jr. College and Academy			172[3]
Pacific Bible Institute	86	84	167
Mennonite Brethren Bible College	91	51	142
Mennonite Collegiate Institute	72	64	136
Rosthern Junior College	74	62	136
Bethel College, Indiana	47	69	116
Eden Bible and High School			110[3]
Corn Bible School	41	51	96
Emmanuel Bible College			88[3]
Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute	39	48	87
Rockway Mennonite School	22	61	83
Iowa Mennonite School			74[3]
Steinbach Bible Academy	41	30	71
United Mennonite Collegiate Institute	39	32	71
Oklahoma Bible Academy	35	32	67
Mountain View Bible College			60[3]
Berean Academy	26	28	54
Western Mennonite School	24	30	54
Canadian Mennonite Bible College	35	13	48
Alberta Mennonite High School	26	21	47
Johnstown Mennonite School	20	25	45
Meade Bible Academy			42[3]
Lustre Bible Academy	10	20	30
Mennonite Biblical Seminary	24	6	30
Bethel Springs School	4	10	14
Total	2846	2880	6871[5]
			5726[6]

[1] No details given as to number of men and women students for 107 music students.
[2] No details given for five seminar students.
[3] No details given.
[4] 1949 Mennonite Yearbook, p. 36.
[5] Vertical total.
[6] Horizontal total.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND RESEARCH NOTES

Mennonite Yearbooks and Almanacs, 1940-1950

I. English Yearbooks and Almanacs

In the January, 1940, Review, John C. Wenger gave a brief description of fifteen Mennonite yearbooks for 1939, published in the Dutch, German, and English languages. Earlier, in Volume I of the *Mennonitisches Lexicon,* under the topic of "Kalendar," Christian Neff presented a short summary of Mennonite yearbooks. Harold S. Bender's *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature* (Goshen, Indiana, 1929) gave bibliographical data on all American yearbooks. These three should be referred to by those who wish to obtain information concerning the early history of these publications.

A. *Family Almanac*

The *Family Almanac,* begun by John F. Funk at Elkhart, Indiana, in 1870 and published by the Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, since 1909, continued as an annual publication during the decade beginning in 1940. The 1940-42 copies were edited by John L. Horst but since 1943 Ellrose D. Zook has served as editor.

During the decade the style and contents of the *Almanac* changed very little. Each issue contained a few pages of advertising, generally of plain clothing. In the opening pages dates of the eclipses, planets, seasons, and of church days and holidays were presented. Calendars of the months gave the hour for the rising and setting of the moon and sun. Short articles presented medical advice, recipes, farm information, spiritual guidance, and suggestions for parents. No historical articles appeared during the decade. In each number, however, appeared a directory of American Mennonite ministers, although there was no consistent policy regarding the branches of the church selected for listing. In some instances all branches in America were listed but in other instances only a few groups were selected, including always the Mennonite Church (Old) and the Old Order Amish Mennonites. Apart from this feature, the rest of the contents has little significance for the student of Mennonite life and history.

B. *Mennonite Yearbook and Directory*

Of much more value to Mennonite history students is the *Mennonite Yearbook and Directory,* the first issue of which appeared in 1905. Since 1909 it has been published by the Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania. Ellrose D. Zook began serving as editor with the 1943 issue.

Through the years, the coverage of the *Yearbook* has been extended greatly, the 1950 issue containing 128 pages in contrast to the 96 pages in 1940. Among the articles appearing in the 1950 issue are a church conference calendar for 1950; articles on the 1949 activities of the Mennonite General Conference, Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, Mennonite Relief Committee, Peace Problems Committee, Mennonite Board of Education, Mennonite Publication Board, Mennonite Commission for Christian Education, Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, Mennonite Central Committee, and Mennonite Aid, Inc.; five biographies of Mennonite leaders who died during the previous year; a complete list of names and addresses of church officers and committee personnel of the organizations of the Mennonite Church (Old); lists of all home and foreign missions with their personnel; a lengthy statistical section presenting infor-

mation on the growth in membership of the Mennonite Church, membership by states and provinces, total members of all branches of Mennonites by countries and by branches, ministerial changes, deaths and ordinations during the year, Christian day school, winter Bible school and summer Bible school enrollments, Sunday-school statistics by conferences, and contributions received annually by the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities in the period 1930-1949, inclusive; a church directory listing the congregations, memberships and ministers of the Mennonite Church, the Conservative Amish Mennonite Conference, the Old Order Amish Mennonites, and the Old Order Mennonites; and finally a ministerial directory for all Mennonite ministers the world over. Most of these items have appeared regularly throughout the past decade.

The yearly reports of the activities of the boards and organizations of the Mennonite Church are invaluable to the student who wishes to obtain a picture of the work of the church in any one year or to trace the development of the church's total activity during the past decade. Valuable also are the biographies which have appeared in the last decade: 1940—Christian Z. Yoder, Jacob K. Bixler; 1942—John Horsch, Simon Menno Kanagy; 1943—Abner G. Yoder, Daniel J. Johns, Elias B. Stoltzfus, Elias L. Frey, Lewis Shank, S. G. Shetler; 1944—Abraham Overholt Histand, Daniel Kauffman, Jacob C. Frey, Jonas Snider, John W. Weaver; 1946—Daniel Henry Bender, Israel Bowman Good, Aaron Loucks, W. Ray Wenger, Edward Yoder; 1947—Henry H. Hershey, Henry B. Keener, John Mellinger Kreider, Maurice O'Connell; 1948—Jacob R. Bender, Sem Eby, Chancy A. Hartzler, Isaac G. Hartzler, Clifford Anson Snyder; 1949—John H. Gochnauer, Noah Haldeman Mack, Moses H. Schmitt, Christian Snyder; and 1950—Warren G. Bean, John P. Bontrager, John F. Bressler, Lewis J. Burkholder, Andrew A. Schrock. One additional article merits special mention. It is John C. Wenger's "Two Hundred Years of Printing in the Mennonite Church," which appeared in the 1948 *Yearbook.*

C. Year Book of the General Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America (Since 1947, *Handbook of Information*).

First published in 1895 as the *Mennonite Year Book and Almanac,* its title later was changed to the above and in 1947 to the *Handbook of Information of the General Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America.* It was published in recent years by the Mennonite Publication Office, Newton, Kansas. The last English issue appeared in 1948; in 1948 appeared *Mennonitisches Jahrbuch,* a continuation of the former *Bundesbote Kalender.* (See below.)

The 1948 issue contained the officers in the various General Conference and district conference positions. An article by J. H. Fretz covered "The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Eastern District Conference." Additional articles included reports from the various church boards, a list of ministers without regular charges, a report of Mennonite Central Committee activities, and finally tables for each of the district conferences, listing memberships, ministers, and contributions of each congregation for various causes. The 1948 issue contained forty-eight pages, the average length of each copy during the decade.

Biographies during the 1940-1946 period were published for the following: 1940—John E. Linscheid, John B. Baer, J. W. Regier, Heinrich H. Schmidt; 1941—Samuel K. Mosiman, Henry J. Krehbiel, Abraham Ratzlaff, John Roth, Bernhard Regier, Lavina Burkhalter, Maxwell H. Kratz, Henry Peter Krehbiel; 1942—Peter R. Schroeder, William Shelly

Gottshall, Michael Horsch, John R. Thierstein, E. J. Hirschler, Cornelius F. Claassen, Walker Wilson Miller, Johannes D. Jantzen; 1943—Gustav A. Linscheid, Emmet Leroy Harshbarger, Jacob H. Quiring, Peter Flaming, John Flaming, J. J. Flickinger, Joel Lehman, Henry P. Peters, Alvin C. Alderfer, J. H. Loganbill; 1944—Henry J. Kliewer, Anna Frey, Allen M. Fretz, Peter H. Unruh; 1945—Adam Ratzlaff, Jacob G. Baergen, Henry T. Reimer, Mrs. S. S. Haury, Paul Mouttet, Sister Frieda Kaufman, Franz Albrecht, Abraham W. Froese; and 1946—Marie K. Fast, Heinrich P. Unruh. No biographies appeared after 1946.

During the ten years a number of historical articles, generally congregational histories, appeared in the *Year Book*. Among these articles the following deserve special mention: "Historical Sketch and Sixtieth Anniversary, First Mennonite Church of Newton, Kansas," 1940; "Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Upper Milford Square Mennonite Church," 1941; "Chronicle of Saron Mennonite Church at Orienta, Oklahoma," 1941; "Organization of the Bethel Mennonite Church of Winton, California," 1941; "The Friedensfeld Mennonite Church, Turpin, Oklahoma," 1941; "The Grace Mennonite Church, Dallas, Oregon," 1941; "Diamond Jubilee of First Mennonite Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania," 1941; "Our Canadian Immigrant Brethren," 1942; "The Canadian Brethren," 1943; "History of the Oklahoma Bible Academy," 1944; "The Bethel Deaconess Home and Hospital Society, Newton, Kansas," 1944; "History of the Zion Mennonite Church, Elbing, Kansas," 1944; "History of the First Mennonite Church, Chicago, Illinois," 1944; "Commemorate Immigration of 1874," 1944; "First Mennonite Church, Allentown, Pa.," 1944; "The Zion Mennonite Church, Souderton, Pa.," 1944; "The First Mennonite Church, Colfax, Washington," 1944; "Brotherhood of the Eastern District Conference," 1945; "History of the Bergthal Church, Corn, Oklahoma," 1945; "History of Mennoville Church, Near El Reno, Oklahoma," 1945; "History of the Deer Creek Mennonite Church," 1945; "History of the First Mennonite Church, Hillsboro, Kansas," 1945. Attention should also be called to the yearly reports of the activities of the Mennonite Central Committee and of the institutions of the General Conference Mennonites, including their colleges and hospitals, which appeared in the *Year Book* fairly regularly during this decade.

D. *Year Book of the Central Conference of Mennonites*

Since 1922 the Central Conference of Mennonites has published annually a *Year Book*, ranging in length from 32 to 72 pages, with 40 pages as the average for recent years. It is issued by the Central Mennonite Publication Board, R. L. Hartzler, Editor, Bloomington, Illinois.

The 1950 number contained the fiftieth anniversary sermon by Wm. B. Weaver, the constitution of the Central Conference of Mennonites, minutes and reports of the fiftieth Annual Session of the conference, the conference secretary's statistical report on membership and finances, the 1949 Mennonite Central Committee report, a report of the congregations of the conference presenting membership and financial statistics for each congregation, and finally a conference directory which listed the ministers in the Conference and the personnel of all Conference committees.

During the past decade, several articles of particular historical value have appeared in the *Year Book* in addition to the yearly reports of the type listed above. Among them were these: 1940—"The Year 1939 in Review," "Dr. Ramseyer Inaugurated"; 1941—"The Year 1940 in Review," "Dr. Mosiman Passes"; 1942—"Prof. E. J. Hirschler Called by

Death," "Rev. Valentine Strubhar," "The Conscientious Objector in Great Britain and America"; 1943—"In Memoriam—Biographical and Character Sketch of Rev. E. Troyer"; 1944—"Early Writings of Menno Simons" (John Horsch), "The Mennonites of Switzerland" (John C. Wenger), "Among the Mennonites in the Netherlands" (Cornelius Krahn), "The Mennonites of Germany" (H. S. Bender), "The Mennonites in Russia" (A. Warkentin), "Mennonites in Latin America" (S. C. Yoder); 1945—"Our Middle East Relief work," "Over-all View of M.C.C. Activity; 1946—"Clayton H. Kratz," "Marie K. Fast," "The Mennonite Central Committee in the Far East"; 1947—"Voluntary Service Opportunities"; and 1949—"Brook Lane Farm," "New Settlements in Paraguay," "Life in Colony Volendam," "Arrival by Air" (Arrival of S.S. CHARLTON MONARCH passengers in Paraguay). Yearly reports of Bluffton College, Mennonite Biblical Seminary, and the Mennonite Hospital at Bloomington, Illinois, present a continuous story of the development of these institutions.

E. *United Missionary Church Year Book*

The first yearbook of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ carried the title, *Mennonite Brethren in Christ Handbook 1946,* and was edited by Everek R. Storms, Kitchener, Ontario, who has edited the annual issues since that date. The issue for 1948 was entitled, *United Missionary Handbook,* while the next number, 1949, became the *United Missionary Church Year Book.*

The 1949 *Year Book,* 38 pages in length, carried a list of district superintendents, conference secretaries, and other church officers; the 1949 church calendar; an article summarizing the progress of the church in each district during the previous year; statistics on Sunday-school attendance; a report of churches erected during the previous year; a summary of twenty-five years of radio evangelism; biographies of C. H. Brunner, S. Goudie, and A. B. Yoder; a history of the Royersford, Pa., congregation; statistics on missionary activities and offerings; a missionary directory; an article on the tenth anniversary of Emmanuel Bible College; and a ministerial directory. The 1950 *Year Book* contained in addition to the statistical information similar to that of the previous year short biographies of C. U. Good, H. G. Pontius, and J. S. Wood.

Previous editions carried similar materials, among which the following deserve special mention: 1947 — "Golden Jubilee, Michigan Conference"; and 1948 — "Pioneers of the Church, H. B. Musselman," and "90th Anniversary Pennsylvania Conference."

F. Year Book of the Church of God in Christ Mennonite

The Church of God in Christ Mennonite publishes each year a small yearbook, 24 pages in 1949, listing for each of their congregations its ministers, membership, Sunday-school superintendent, Sunday-school enrollment, baptism, marriages, and deaths. In addition, members of church boards and committees are listed, both for their general conference and their district conference positions. The book is edited by Noah Holdeman, Hesston, Kansas.

G. Other Yearbooks

Several annual, biennial, and triennial reports are published regularly by Mennonite groups. In some instances these are called yearbooks although they are only conference reports. Such, for example, are the yearbooks of the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America and of the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Church. —*Melvin Gingerich.*

II. Foreign and German Language Yearbooks

A. *Doopsgezind Jaarboekje*

The yearbook of the Mennonite Church of the Netherlands appeared regularly in 1940, 1941, 1942, and 1943, with the customary content, under the editorship of S. H. N. Gorter, and published by the firm of L. Hansma, Assen. Suspended during 1944-48, its publication was resumed for the year 1949 by the Dutch General Conference office (A.D.S.), under the editorship of Pastors L. D. G. Knipscheer of Groningen and D. Richards of Bussum, again with the traditional size (168 pp.), format, and content.

In addition to the usual lists of ministers, organizations, congregations and officials, memorials, obituaries, chronicle and calendar, the following articles are worthy of note (titles translated).

1940: P. Vis—*Shifts in Attitudes Toward War;* Maria Klaassen — *On Vuurtoren Island* (a Story from the Java Mission); M. Uiterdijk — *Pieter Ris, an 18th Century Fighter Against the Decline of our Mennonite Brotherhood.*

1941: F. Dijkema — *Our Confession;* D. M. van der Wonde — *Mennonite Proverbs;* M. Uiterdijk — *Jacob Spis, Hoorn's Last Lay Preacher 1775—1796 and 1802—1810;* S. H. N. Gorter — *Beautiful Remembrance* (concerning the destroyed Rotterdam church).

1942: G. J. Honig — *The United Waterland and Friesian Mennonite Society in North Holland* (100th Anniversary address on the Rijper Society); D. M. van der Wonde — *Mennonite Names* (Proper names of places, etc.).

1943: G. J. Honig — *The Rijper Society* (concluded from 1942); W. F. Golterman—*Hoekstra's Concept of the Basis of Faith;* D. M. van der Wonde — *Mennonite Proverbs* (Supplement).

1949: H. W. Meihuizen — *The Dutch Mennonites from 1938 to 1948* (1948 World Conference Address); H. C. Voorhoeve — Ten Bruggencate — *Some Likenesses Between the First Christians and the First Anabaptists* (Paul and Menno); J. E. Tuininga and H. Wethmar — *Memories of the War;* W. F. Golterman — *New Paths;* Irvin B. Horst — *Beyond the Border* (Mennonites in America).

B. *Christlicher Gemeinde-Kalendar*

This German Mennonite yearbook appeared for 1940 and 1941 as before, edited by Pastor A. Braun and published by the South German Mennonite Conference, then ceased publication. In addition to the almanac and congregational directory sections, the "belehrender und unterhaltender Teil" constitutes the major part of both issues (1940, pp. 33-117 and 1941, pp. 33-140). The 1940 number, which went to press apparently in late 1939, is little affected by the war, which began in September. The 1941 issue is heavily loaded with war items, including obituaries for numerous officers and soldiers who fell in the fighting. A considerable number of valuable historical and genealogical articles appear in both issues. The most important are listed below with their German titles.

1940: Matthew Pohl — *Alte Erinnerungen*: Bruno Ewert — *Geschichtliches aus der Mennonitengemeinde Heubuden-Marienburg;* Ernst Crous — *Mennoniten im Regierungsbezirk Trier;* D. Chr. Neff — *50 Jahre Konferenz der Süddeutschen Mennoniten;* Gerhard Hein — *Beiträge zur Familiengeschichte der pfälzisch-hessischen Mennonitengemeinden;* J. Koller — *Eine Reise nach Russland;* ----- *Alte Briefe;* Ernst Crous — *Das grosse Weltgeschehen und unsere Gemeinden im Osten.*

1941: Matthew Pohl — *Alte Erinnerungen;* Johs. Foth — *Geschichtlicher Vortrag;* B. H. Unruh — *Die Mennoniten in der Neumark;* - - - - — *Die Ältesten der Gemeinde Schönsee seit der Teilung Polens 1773;* J. Bartel — *Die Opfer des Polenfeldzuges der Gemeinde Schönsee;* Heinrich Pauls — *Ein Pionier des Deutschtums in Galizien;* Heinrich Pauls — *Die Heimkehr unserer Volksgenossen aus Galizien;* Heinrich Bachmann — *Bericht über die Zeit meiner Verhaftung;* Gerhard Hein — *Beiträge zur Familiengeschichte der pfälzisch-hessischen Mennonitengemeinden;* - - - - - - *Aus dem Leben der Bauern und Mennoniten-Predigers Heinrich Koller.*

C. *Bundesbote Kalender* (After 1947, *Mennonitisches Jahrbuch*)

This German almanac and yearbook of the General Conference of Mennonites, issued by the Publication Board of the Conference at Newton, Kansas, was discontinued finally after reaching its 62nd year in 1947, but appeared in 1948 renamed *Mennonitisches Jahrbuch* with considerably changed content. Under C. E. Krehbiel's editorship it had maintained the older plan with almanac and directory of ministers and conference organisation, all of which are dropped in the new *Jahrbuch,* edited by D. H. Epp and Cornelius Krahn, although the congregational statistical report is continued. The *Kalender* published regularly biographical obituaries of all ministers and prominent laymen deceased during the year, usually identical with the biographies in the English yearbook, but this feature is no longer in the new *Jahrbuch.* Another major change is that while the *Kalender* carried only a few historical articles, the *Jahrbuch* consists mainly of such articles from various countries, chiefly thus far reprints of articles originally appearing in other journals. The 1949 *Jahrbuch* contained the following condensed reprints of 1948 Mennonite World Conference addresses: J. W. Warkentin — "Volendam in Paraguay": J. W. Fretz — "Vom Character der mennonitischen Ansiedlungen"; Samuel Gerber — "Die Mennoniten in Schweiz und Frankreich"; from *Mennonite Life* the following articles were reprinted: "Tragische Erlebnisse der Mennoniten Russlands"; J. G. Rempel — "Erinnerungen an die Weltkonferenz der Mennoniten"; C. C. Regier — "Christliches Zeugniss in Krieg und Frieden." Other articles were: "Zwischen Odessa and Perekop in den ersten Monaten des deutsch-sowjetischen Krieges" and "C. H. Smith (1875-1948)" by Cornelius Krahn. The following articles are worthy of note in the *Kalender:* 1940: G. A. Linscheid — "Die ersten Jahre unserer Montana Mission"; T. A. Van der Smissen — "Die Hebron Gemeinde (History) Buhler, Kansas"; "Sechszehn Jahre russlanddeutschen Mennoniten-Kolonisation in Mexico" (reprinted from *Steinbach Post,* originally in *Deutschtum im Ausland* [Stuttgart]). 1941: J. J. Balzer — "Kurzer Überblick über die Geschichte und Entwicklung unserer lieben Bethelgemeinde (Mt. Lake) 1889-1940"; "200jährige Feier der Upper Milford Mennonitengemeinde (Pa.)." 1943: J. J. Ratzlaff — "Historische Skizze der Emmanuel Mennonitengemeinde" (Galva, Kansas); N. Siemens — "Vor 19 Jahren, Erinnerungen an den Advent 1929" (from *Menno-Blatt,* Paraguay.) 1946: H. U. Schmidt — "Geschichte der Neu-Hoffnungsthal Mennonitengemeinde bei Meno, Oklahoma." 1947: Gerhard Fast — "Die letzten Tage in der Ukraine unter Stalin und Hitler" (from *Mennonite Life);* "Einige interessante Umstände in der Geschichte der Inman Mennonitengemeinde" (Kansas). In addition some 56 biographical obituaries of ministers and outstanding laymen of the conference were published, most of these being identical with those printed in the English yearbook

(up to 1946) and reported above. In 1947 the following appeared: Christian Neff (Germany); D. D. Unruh, D. P. Thiessen, D. A. Schultz, J. J. Balzer, Isaac Martins (Brazil), and Rodolphe Petter.

The 1948 Jahrbuch contained two articles of note: Ed. G. Kaufman, "Die allgemeine Konferenz der Mennonitengemeinden von Nordamerika" and Walter Schmiedehaus, "Die Mennoniten in Mexico." One article in the 1950 issue should be mentioned: D. P. Enns, "Die mennonitischen Schulen in Russland".

D. *Jahrbuch der Allgemeinen Konferenz der Mennoniten in Canada*

This yearbook has appeared annually containing the minutes of the annual conference together with conference addresses and committee reports *in extenso*, and a conference and ministerial directory with detailed congregational statistics.

E. *Der neue Amerikanische Calendar*

This is the Old Order Amish almanac and directory published annually by J. A. Raber, Baltic, Ohio. In addition to the ministerial directory with birth dates and ordination dates and congregational directory, the rubrics for the Amish Sunday services for the year are given, with the Scripture lesson and hymns (Ausbund) for each Sunday morning service.

—*Harold S. Bender.*

The *Echo-Verlag* Publications

The *Echo-Verlag,* in effect a Canadian Mennonite Historical Society, was founded in 1944 in commemoration of the one hundreth anniversary of the founding of the *Zentralschule,* Chortitza, Russia. The purpose of the *Echo-Verlag* is to promote Mennonite research and publications. From 1944-48 six volumes in a series entitled *Historische Schriftenreihe des Echo-Verlags* have been published.

Die Tereker Ansiedlung . . . by C. P. Toews (illustrated, 73 pages, $1.00) presents the history of a Mennonite settlement at the foothills of the Caucasian Mountains, which originated in 1901 and was composed of 24,800 dessiatines of land divided into seventeen villages. There were endless obstacles—drought, grasshoppers, disturbances by native bandits, etc. By World War I, however, it had become one of the most promising daughter colonies established by the Mennonites of Russia. Then came the Revolution and with it the unleashing of the native bandits. The dissolution of the settlement was completed by 1925.

Flucht über den Amur by Abram Friesen and Abram J. Loewen (illustrated, 66 pages, $.80) relates a unique chapter of Mennonite attempts to escape Bolshevism. Collectivization and exile caused the Mennonites to migrate not only to America, but also to the Far East. A group of families settled along the Amur River near Blagaveshtshensk where a number of villages orginated. This was the last daughter colony founded by Mennonites in Russia. Even here they did not escape the ravages of Communism. The crossing of the Amur River by this group, its journey to Harbin, and finally to South America is a Mennonite odyssey well worth preserving.

Johann Cornies . . . by D. H. Epp (illustrated, 147 pages, $2.00) is the reprint of a book that appeared in 1909 in Russia. That the biography of this man who influenced and shaped the economic and cultural life of the Mennonites in Russia more than anyone else has again been made available is one of the outstanding achievements of the *Echo-Verlag.*

Sagradowka . . . by Gerhard Lohrenz (illustrated, 115 pages, $1.25) relates the founding and development of another daughter colony. In 1871 the Molotschna settlement bought some 21,000 dessiatines of land in the province of Cherson and established seventeen villages there. Vividly and attractively Lohrenz relates all the phases of life from the beginning to the end of the settlement when during World War II the settlers were taken along by the German Army and later forcibly sent to Siberia by the Red Army.

Unser Auszug nach Mittelasien by Franz Bartsch (93 pages, $1.00) is a reprint of a book published in Russia in 1907. This is the dramatic account of an eyewitness of how two groups of Mennonites, one from the *Trakt* settlement in Samara and the other from the Molotschna settlement in the Ukraine, settled in central Asia at the time when general military conscription was introduced in Russia. A feature which makes this migration a unique chapter in Mennonite history is that the group expected the return of the Lord at the place of their destination. A great number of the settlers later came to America and the fate of those remaining up till World War II has been related in an appendix by the eyewitness, Alexander Rempel.

Am Trakt . . . (illustrated, 78 pages, $1.00) is the account of the settlement by this name in the province of Samara on the Volga. It was from here that one group migrated to central Asia. The first part of the book is a condensation and translation of a book published in the Russian language by W. E. Surukin (*The Mennonites of Köppental in the District of the Volga Germans,* 1923) and the second was written by Johann J. Dyck. Both Johann J. Dyck and his father were leading men of the settlement which was started in 1853 by Mennonites from Prussia. By 1872 ten villages had been established. Since the settlers came with means and the conditions were favorable, the *Trakt* settlement became one of the most prosperous and economically aggressive Mennonite settlements in Russia.

It is difficult to overestimate the value of the work done by the *Echo-Verlag.* The final chapter of organized cultural, economic, and religious life of the Mennonites in Russia has been closed. Most of the traces of their achievement have been wiped from the face of the earth. For this reason it is imperative that those leading men that have survived and are now living in Canada and other countries should write their memoirs and reminiscences and the histories of settlements, institutions, conferences, etc. One of the best stimuli to achieve this is the prospect of having them printed. This is what the *Echo-Verlag* is doing. Outstanding among the members of the board of this organization are the chairman, D. H. Epp, formerly teacher of the Chortitza *Zentralschule* and now editor of *Der Bote,* and the secretary, Arnold Dyck, writer and artist. These men are giving unstintingly of their time and money.

Many more volumes on the cultural, religious, and economic achievements of the Mennonites in Russia are in preparation and should be printed. Students of Mennonite history can support this cause by ordering the volumes for their private and institutional libraries aud by joining the *Echo-Verlag* as members. The annual dues which entitle the member to the publications as they come off the press are $1.00. The address of the organization is Arnold Dyck, Secretary, *Echo-Verlag,* Box 122, North Kildonan, Manitoba.—*Cornelius Krahn.*

BOOK REVIEWS

The Dream Gate. By Marcus Bach. Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1949. Pp. 318. $3.00.

This book by Professor Bach is a welcome addition to the literature about the Anabaptist family, the imaginative literature specifically, which has come out in recent years and which has been reviewed from time to time in these pages. *The Dream Gate* is a novel describing the Old Portage Colony of the Hutterian Brethren in South Dakota. It is the first work of fiction to deal with this branch of the Anabaptist-Mennonite group, which has had a continuous existence from the third decade of the sixteenth century to the present, and whose history has recently been brought to the attention of scholars by the work of the late Dr. Zieglschmid. Mr. Bach is the author of two important and widely read studies of the more obscure sects in the United States: *They Have Found a Faith* and *Report to Protestants.* In the course of these studies he made an investigation of attempts at communal living in the United States, past and present. Of these communities, one hundred and forty-nine have failed and disappeared; only the Hutterites, who came to this country in 1874, have been able to maintain themselves, living in about forty colonies in the United States and Canada. Mr. Bach was apparently one of the fortunate few "outsiders" to have the privilege of observing the life of the commune from the inside.

The Dream Gate presents the life of the colony to the reader through the wide-open eyes of a sensitive and imaginative boy, Little Mike Neumann. The radical contrast of his life to that of the world as we know it is made clear to him and to the reader by the visit of Joshua Volkner, a son of the colony who had run away to find freedom and make his way in the world. On the one hand, Michael's father, the colony carpenter, represents authority, security, devotion to the brotherhood, and the otherworldliness that Little Mike has always known. Joshua Volkner, on the other hand, represents the mystery of the "world" with its terrifying and repulsive aspects, but also with its alluring and attractive aspects. The contrast between the two becomes personal and real to Little Mike when Joshua gives him a harmonica, for he must keep his cherished treasure a secret from his father; the little instrument is at once a private possession, forbidden *per se,* and a musical instrument, a symbol of worldliness. When its existence is finally disclosed, Michael's father shows an unexpected understanding of its significance to the boy, but persuades him for the sake of the colony to throw it into the Missouri. In the course of this little drama the reader is introduced into the daily life and thought of the colony, its family life, deeply affectionate (with more time for and emphasis upon home life than is generally assumed), the communal dining hall, the various "bosses," the elders and Pastor Kunz, a wedding in which the groom makes the customary pledge not to try to take his bride out of the colony if he should ever decide to leave, the first use of the combine — horse-drawn to be sure, but viewed with mingled apprehension and admiring wonder.

The story is told with a charming poetic quality. The author presents the Hutterian point of view with considerable sympathy for their way of life, their spirit of mutuality, their simplicity, the religious motivation of the whole, and the security of the individual within the group. But it is clear that his views are those of Joshua, who is oppressed by the lack of liberty, the circumscribed life and thought, and the closed mind with regard to the outside world, and who believes that the communistic type of life is doomed by the individualism of the twentieth century. With this position

many Mennonite readers would not be able to agree. A kind of life that has persisted through more than four centuries in the face of the most severe persecution and opposition, based as it is on Christian love and obedience, will not likely be destroyed by the philosophy prevailing outside its gates. Joshua is also somewhat in error in calling the migrations of the Brethren an "escape" in the current sense of the word. (None of the original colonies fled to South America, as Joshua seems to believe.) Nor does it necessarily follow that the adoption of such modern conveniences as electricity and automotive power will bring about the dissolution of the colonies by breaking down the barriers. Another point open to critical question is the ethical right of Joshua to try overtly to lure Little Mike's thoughts into channels condemned by the group of which he is a part.

The Dream Gate is as good as anything that has been written along this line, and comes nearer to an adequate ethical treatment of an Anabaptist principle than anything previously published in America. It deserves a place in the library of every Mennonite interested in these problems.

In its theme this story resembles *Rosanna of the Amish* and *Christli's Trees* (reviewed *MQR* April 1947 and April 1949). But the former, unlike *The Dream Gate,* is written from the "inside," and therefore ignores any unlovely or questionable aspects of the life of the community or problematical issues. *Christli's Trees* touches upon the questions raised in *The Dream Gate,* but being frankly a juvenile, it stops there. *The Dream Gate* seriously inquires whether the kind of life found in the communes is anomalous and therefore impossible in our time. The gate mentioned in the title opens into the world, where freedom is found. However, Joshua (Bach), in his critical attitude toward the basic position of the Hutterites, overlooks the fact that social freedom is a relative matter. For do not social customs, financial conditions, and many other circumstances sharply limit actual freedom in any society, even the most outwardly "free"? The real point is to what extent the individual conforms voluntarily; to that extent he acts freely.

Goshen College Elizabeth Horsch Bender

From the Steppes to the Prairies. Edited by Cornelius Krahn. Mennonite Publication Office, Newton, Kansas, 1949. Pp. 116. Illustrated. $1.50.

The coming of the Russian Mennonites to the United States and Canada in the 1870's and 1880's was of significance not only in the field of church history, but in the larger field of American history as well. For, settling in the plains states as they did, their coming was, as a pioneer Mennonite historian has said, an episode in the settling of the last frontier. Publication of *From the Steppes to the Prairies* was one part of the commemoration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the arrival of the first Mennonite immigrants from Russia in 1874.

Edited by the capable professor of church history at Bethel College, the work is a compilation of sketches and articles, contemporary and recent, descriptive of various phases of the immigration movement. In the first article, "From the Steppes to the Prairies," reprinted from the *American-German Review.* Professor Krahn gives an over-all view of the migration. He gives something of the background of the Mennonite settlements in Russia, and points out how the partial withdrawal of the concessions made to the Mennonites when invited by Catherine the Great to come to Russia resulted in the migration of some 18,000 persons to the United States and Canada. Among the articles earlier published are three by Noble L.

Prentis, a contemporary Kansas journalist who gives a delightful and sympathetic description of the early Mennonite pioneers in that state. One chapter, from the autobiography of Christian Krehbiel, supplemented by paragraphs from Mrs. Krehbiel's autobiography, is an account of the important part which this Mennonite leader of Summerfield, Illinois (later of Halstead, Kansas), played in aiding the migration. Leland Harder discusses the unsuccessful attempts made to secure guarantees from President Grant and from Congress to the effect that Mennonites would be free from military service. There follows next a scholarly article by Kempes Schnell on John F. Funk and the Mennonite Migrations. Written first as a project in a history seminar at Goshen College, the article constitutes a contribution in that the part played by this church leader and publisher of Elkhart, Indiana, has not been so well known by the present generation of Mennonites. In a shorter article on Jacob Y. Shantz, Professor Melvin Gingerich of Goshen College and the Mennonite Research Foundation makes a similar contribution in pointing out the work and interest of this Ontario Mennonite in the migration. J. A. Wiebe's account of the founding of one of the Kansas settlements, Gnadenau, is an interesting account—reprinted here—by one of the settlers. In the last article, Elmer F. Suderman undertakes to show how the Mennonite pioneers of the western prairie states and provinces have been portrayed in literature.

As to criticism of this collection, this reviewer has little to offer on the adverse side. As is inevitable in any book, there are a few slips and perhaps more typographical errors than there should be. The first sentence in the introduction, which says that the year 1874 marks the seventy-fifth anniversary of the coming of these Mennonites, is of course such a slip. Since Professor Krahn discusses the introduction of hard winter (Red Turkey) wheat by the Russian Mennonites, it might also have been of interest to mention that this point has been challenged by Professor James C. Malin of Kansas University. There is evidence to indicate that the first Mennonite church service in Kansas was not held in 1873 by Christian Krehbiel (p. 32). Nor was Krehbiel quite correct in his understanding of the reasons for the unannounced coming of the group of Polish Mennonites which settled at Canton, Kansas, in 1876 (p. 44). These may be mere slips of memory which can easily occur in an autobiography written years after the event and, of course, are not criticism of the editor of this volume. The "Credit Mobilier" scandal occurred before Grant was president and was merely exposed during his administration (p. 54). It will be surprising to students of American history to find Senator Roscoe Conkling characterized as a "liberal thinker" (p. 62). In the judgment of the writer of this review readers would be interested in knowing a bit more about the writers of the several articles.

These minor points, however, will not obscure the value of the work as a memorial and anniversary booklet of articles on an interesting and significant episode in American history.

Goshen College Willard H. Smith

Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott. Der Wanderweg eines christlichen Siedlervolkes. Von Walter Schmiedehaus. The author, Chihuahua, Mexico, 1948. Pp. 307. $2.00.

This book presents the story of the Mennonites who left Canada after World War I to find a new home in Mexico. The author is a friend and adviser of the people he describes, although not a Mennonite. He has helped them solve many of their problems especially by mediating between them and the government. Walter Schmiedehaus is not a historian, but he is an excellent narrator who has preserved an interesting chapter of Mennonite history of which many details would have been lost if it were not for this account. The chief reason for writing the book seems to have been to inform the younger generation of the Mennonites of Mexico about their great heritage. The book was printed in the G. J. Rempel print shop in Mexico where all needed supplies (Bibles, catechisms, songbooks, and readers) of the settlement are printed.

In the first chapters the background of the Old Colony Mennonites in Russia and Canada is presented. The sources used are rather limited and in some instances outdated. A few historical inaccuracies occur. When the author describes the causes of the migration from Canada to Mexico, the migration itself, the development of the settlement, and the cultural life of the Old Colony Mennonites he is at his best. He makes full use of diaries, narratives, and other writings of the Old Colony Mennonites as well as governmental decrees and agreements. In his personal observations and insight, he demonstrates the rare gift of warm and sympathetic objectivity. When the reader is taken on a visit to the homes, the religious services, weddings, funerals, and other social affairs, he cannot help getting a deeper understanding and appreciation of a way of life which seems strange on the surface. The story is presented in an attractive style.

Of special interest are his chapters on leading men, the institution of mutual aid, self-government of the settlement, and the difficulties the settlement encountered when they were in danger of losing their land and their cherished schools. But the author has not only praise for the Old Colony Mennonites, for he points out that through their isolation they are in danger of losing cultural and spiritual values. He challenges them to improve their schools and enlarge their literary interests.

Bethel College Cornelius Krahn